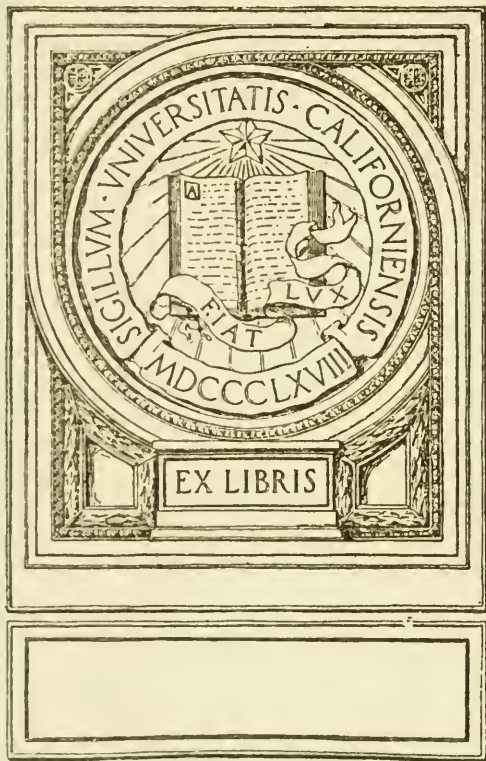
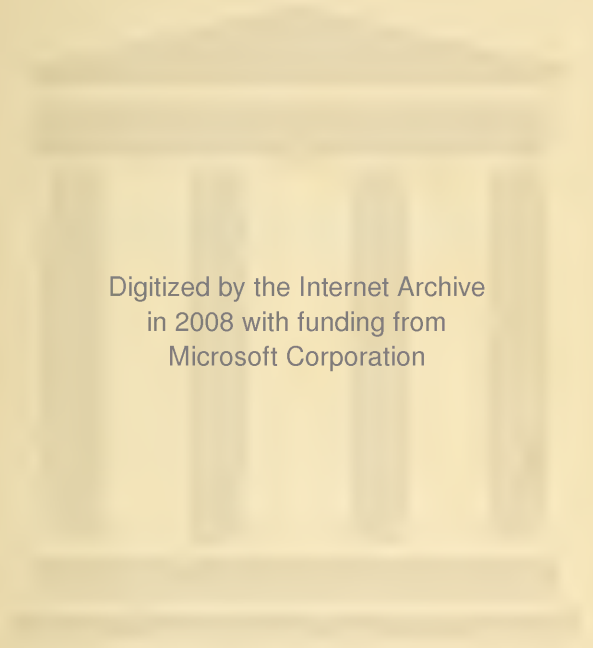




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SPEECH-MAKING

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SPEECH-MAKING

· EXPLICIT INSTRUCTIONS
FOR THE
BUILDING AND DELIVERY OF SPEECHES

BY

EDWIN GORDON LAWRENCE

PROFESSOR OF ORATORY

Author of "The Power of Speech" and
"The Lawrence Reader and Speaker"

23227



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TO
MY FRIEND
FRANCIS P. BENT

"He that is thy friend indeed,
He will help thee in thy need:
If thou sorrow, he will weep;
If thou wake, he cannot sleep;
Thus of every grief in heart
He with thee doth bear a part.
These are certain signs to know
Faithful friend from flattering foe."

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PREFACE

SPEECH-MAKING is an art, consequently the principles underlying the art should be understood and mastered by all who desire to attain proficiency in its practice, as, in the words of Goethe, "a certain mechanical perfection must precede every art."

(The author aims to explain how speeches should be constructed and how they should be delivered.) With this object in mind, famous speeches are dissected and analysed so as to bring to view the framework upon which they are built, and thus demonstrate the means employed by able speakers in constructing their speeches and arranging their matter in a clear, logical and effective manner, and instructions are given whereby the proper style of delivery may be acquired.

During his labours as a teacher of oratory, the author has felt the need of a book combining material useful in teaching his pupils how to gain the powers of speech-construction and speech-delivery, and he believes that the matter here presented will be of assistance to anyone seeking knowledge along these lines, and he has taken pains to give the instructions in so simple

a manner as to make them readily understood and capable of being properly applied without the aid of the living teacher.

The instructions have been made thus simple because the work is intended primarily for those who have not acquired the faculty of arranging and delivering their thoughts in a systematic and effective manner, but it is hoped that even the experienced speaker may find within its pages some hints that will be of service to him.

Much that is contained herein is rudimentary in character, and some of the points may appear to be laboriously dwelt upon, but the author's experience has convinced him that a teacher cannot be too explicit in explaining questions and imparting instructions, no matter how simple and clear the points may appear to those who understand them. It seems to him to be the teacher's duty to bear in mind that his task is to instruct those who do not possess the knowledge he is attempting to impart to them, and in doing this, he should not give them credit for possessing too much penetration, nor should he, because of placing too much reliance upon the intelligence of his students, skim over subjects. The author hopes that he has not erred in the other direction.

(Technical terms have been avoided, and simplicity of style and clearness of language sought

after, in order that the attention may be directed only to the message which the author attempts to deliver.)

The author extends his thanks to the gentlemen who so kindly permitted him to make use of their speeches in illustrating the work of this book.

E. G. L.

New York, May, 1911.

SPEECH-MAKING

CONSTRUCTION

²³²²⁷ FRAMEWORK

C. 4-1913
EVERY speech, no matter what its length or what its subject, should possess three parts: an opening or statement, a body or argument, a conclusion or an appeal. The opening should contain the facts, or points, upon which the argument, in the body of the speech, is to be made; the body should be given over wholly to a presentation of the facts; and the conclusion should be devoted to moving the listeners to act in accordance with the argument.

The opening may contain as many statements as the speaker desires, but he must make sure to argue upon and drive home in the body of the speech all that he mentions in the opening. Every statement in the opening must be like a plank in a platform, and all such planks, or statements, must be fastened together properly in the argument, otherwise there will be gaps in the platform, or statement, through which the speaker's argument is liable

to fall to failure. The carpenter in constructing a platform is careful to have boards of a uniform thickness and size in order that the floor may be even and smooth, and it should be the same with the builder of a speech, he should select carefully the facts which are to be the planks of his speech upon which his argument is to stand. The body of the speech should contain no argument on any fact or point that is not mentioned in the opening, or which does not in some manner pertain to it, and the conclusion should be nothing more than deductions drawn from the argument. Be sure of the facts, state them clearly in the opening, hold closely to them, drive them home, and clinch them in the argument. In reference to "clinching," I once had the pleasure of hearing that splendid orator and noble Christian minister, the late Donald Sage Mackay, narrate the following story: "I had recently graduated from the theological seminary, and was sent among the hills of Scotland to preach. Of course, I was filled with my own importance, as I imagined myself about perfect in theology and oratory. I prepared what I considered a splendid sermon, and went to the kirk determined to astonish my hearers. The services passed off smoothly, and at their conclusion several of the ladies came up and told me how beautifully I had done, which, of course, only increased the

amount of self-satisfaction with which I had delivered the sermon. Finally a kindly old Scotchman came slowly toward me, took me by the hand, placed his other hand upon my shoulder and said: 'Well done, well done, but ye didna clinch it, my lad, ye didna clinch it.' This did me more good than all the praise of the dear ladies, and from that time forth I always aimed to 'clinch it.' "

SELECTING THE SUBJECT.

The main point to consider in selecting a subject is to have it appropriate in every respect. It would be folly, and mean certain failure, for a speaker to antagonize his audience by selecting a subject distasteful to them, or to present it in a manner to arouse their opposition, unless, of course, the speaker be a clergyman with some unpleasant truths to tell his congregation, and even then he should tell those truths in a kindly and tactful way. For a republican to attend a democratic gathering and extol the patriotism and achievements of the leaders of his party, would be only to invite hissing, interruption and violence, but a republican might safely address a democratic gathering if he would hide his partisanship, and speak only on such matters regarding which both republicans and democrats can meet on common ground, even though they may not fully agree as to the

means to be employed to accomplish the object. This point was forcibly illustrated some years ago by that tactful man and eloquent speaker, Booker T. Washington, in his address delivered before a vast gathering of whites and blacks at the Atlanta Exposition. Mr. Washington had been invited, as the representative of his race, to speak for it on that occasion, and the whole nation was anxious to see how he would attempt to solve the problems which confronted his people. He spoke earnestly, intelligently and eloquently, and made a deep impression on his audience and on the country. His theme was the relations of the black and the white races, and he demonstrated how necessary they were to each other, and pointed out how they might live in harmony and fellowship and yet remain separate and apart. To illustrate this point he said: "Let them remain socially as separate as the fingers of the hand when it is open, but industrially let them be as united as when it is clinched." This is the substance of his striking figure of speech, but not the exact language in which he clothed it. In advising the white people of the South to employ home labour and not attempt to bring foreign labour in from Europe, he told this story: "A sailing vessel, long from port, when off the coast of South America ran short of water, and the men were in sore straits. Suddenly a sail appeared on

the horizon, and when the stranger drew near, this message was signalled to her: 'Water, we want water!' She answered by saying, 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' Again the appeal was made, 'Water, we want water!' And again the answer came, 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' Once more the signal fluttered from the mast, 'Water, we want water!' And for the third time the answer was waved back, 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' This the captain finally did, and it was drawn up filled with fresh water from the Amazon river, over the mouth of which they were then sailing." A forceful illustration will often prove more effective than a lengthy statement in instantly making clear a point to an audience, as example is more effective than precept, and a speaker who is able to present his thoughts in language that suggests pictures, will make his impressions instant, effective and lasting.

The framework of a speech stands in the same relationship to the matter that composes the speech precisely as the steel framework of a modern building does to the material of which the building is constructed, and it must be as carefully planned and as skilfully put together. The speaker should be sure of his ability to furnish the material out of which he intends to create his speech before he constructs his frame-

work, but as soon as this material is gathered, he should arrange the framework, or skeleton, upon which the material is to be placed, and his speech will be only as secure as is the strength of the framework. The skeleton of the speech should be firmly put together, each statement set properly in place, and each point following the other so as to form a natural, logical and an effective sequence.

HOW TO CONSTRUCT A SPEECH.

The following, then, is a good way to proceed in order to construct a speech.

Select your subject, and, in doing this, let the one consideration be its appropriateness. Gather your material from all sources—Nature, books, conversation and your own thought—making sure to saturate yourself with the subject before attempting to construct the framework or arrange the matter. Then plan the skeleton, putting all the statements in the opening, all the arguments in the body, and all the appeals in the conclusion. Do this in as few words as you can, making, when possible, one word in your framework stand for all on that particular point that you intend to touch upon in your speech. Fasten this outline in your mind, and you are then ready to clothe the framework with words.

REQUIREMENTS OF A SPEECH.

A speech should possess a purpose, and that purpose should be stated in the opening, its truth or importance demonstrated in the body, and a plea for its adoption made in the conclusion.

The opening may consist of one point, fact or statement, or it may embrace many, but whatever is contained in the opening must be argued, demonstrated or proved in the body, and urged for acceptance, belief or action in the conclusion.

The language of a speech should befit the speaker, the subject and the audience, and unless it fulfils these requirements, it is doomed to failure. A young, inexperienced and unknown speaker should be modest in the use of language—in its form, arrangement and selection—and he should refrain from being assertive, except where he produces better authority than his own for his assertions. Simplicity of language is generally advisable in all speakers, but it is always imperative in the young speaker. The words should be expressive and clearly convey the meaning, and be chosen for their vital, living force, rather than for their mere form.

HOW TO IMPROVE THE DICTION.

The style of speaking and writing should be characteristic of the person, its greatest charm

being its individuality, but it must also possess smoothness, purity and strength. The style of both speech and writing may be materially improved by a study of the master literary works of all times, but it is particularly advised that a deep and thorough study be made of the Bible and the works of Shakespeare. There is no better language, for its simplicity and forcefulness, than is found in the speeches and writings of Abraham Lincoln, and he acquired his style mainly from the Bible. All through his matter may be seen the source from whence it came, not merely in the quotations which he liberally used, but in the words themselves and their arrangements. For instance; in the XVII chapter of The Acts, the 30th verse, Paul says: "And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth *all men every where* to repent." Lincoln, in his letter to Horace Greeley, dated August 22, 1862, uses this language: "I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that *all men every where* could be free." There are several striking examples of this similarity to be found in his Second Inaugural Address, one of his best literary productions, a careful study of which is recommended to all who desire to improve their diction.

HOW TO INCREASE THE VOCABULARY.

There are many ways of increasing the vocabulary, among them being an analytical study of the best English writers, a systematic and thorough study of the standard English dictionaries, and committing to memory the orations of men like Demosthenes, Cicero, Pitt, Bright, Gladstone and Webster. By this latter process not only will the use of many words be acquired but the faculty of arranging them in effective form will also be cultivated, and the matter that once belonged to Gladstone or Webster will be digested by the student, enter his storehouse of knowledge, and on some future occasion be brought out in his own manner and have every appearance of being his own matter. The author's experience with students warrants him in strongly advising all who desire to improve their vocabulary to try the last mentioned plan. They must remember, though, that little benefit will result until the matter has entered the subconscious recesses of their brain and become a part of themselves. It must be thoroughly digested, after which it can be used to the great advantage of the speaker.

Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Slicer related in the hearing of the author a little story which illustrates how experience will enlarge not only the vocabulary of speech but also the vocabulary of life.

The Reverend Doctor was once invited to visit a tenement house in order to see "the new baby." The child had come to parents who could but indifferently provide for those who had previously been sent to them, consequently the coming of another mouth to feed and another body to clothe was a serious problem. However, the little stranger was joyously received by the entire household and looked upon by all as a genuine blessing. On Dr. Slicer entering the home of this poor family, the tiny bit of humanity—and it was a particularly small and weak creature—was brought into the room in the arms of the oldest child, a daughter of about fourteen years of age, who held it out for the inspection of the visitor with the remark, "Ain't it grand?" Dr. Slicer in telling this story said that almost any other word than grand would have better described the child, but that the incident illustrated how a new experience enlarges the vocabulary of life. So is it with the speaker. The greater his experience with the productions of great writers and orators the greater will become the number of words at his command, but he must exercise care as to how he applies his new found words and not follow the example of the young girl and apply grand expressions to small objects. A large vocabulary is desirable, but it is equally desirable to know how to use it.

THE USE OF WORDS.

It is well for the speaker to bear in mind that the words he uses must make their meaning known to the listener instantly, if they are to do it at all, and that there is no time given his audience to think the matter over in order to reach a conclusion regarding the intent of the speaker. The written matter may be studied as long as the reader desires, but the spoken matter must be comprehended immediately by the listener, if he is ever going to understand it. Should the listener stop to consider a remark of the speaker which was not at the moment it was spoken made clear to him, he will soon be left behind by the speaker and will surely lose the purport of the speech. The spoken word must speak clearly, convincingly and instantly, if it is to perform the purpose for which it is applied. Note the expressive power and simplicity of language of the following excerpts from The Bible:

“Jesus wept.”

“The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.”

“The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple.”

“Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my strength and my redeemer.”

“In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.”

INTRODUCTION TO A SPEECH.

Before commencing a speech of any kind the speaker generally uses an introduction such as, “My Friends,” “Ladies and Gentlemen,” “Mr. Chairman,” “Mr. President,” “Mr. Toastmaster,” “Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen,” “Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention;” or if a clergyman, he announces the passage of the Scripture from which he takes his text; as, “My text is found in the VI chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the 22nd verse: ‘The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.’ ”

OUTLINE OF A SPEECH.

From the material here furnished, the student is advised to produce a speech on the subject of Lincoln at Gettysburg, which we will suppose is to be delivered before an assembly not particularly well-informed on the subject of the address. He should commence by greeting

the chairman of the meeting and those gathered to listen to him. He should then state the subject of the address, and give his reasons for selecting it. This comprises the opening. In the body of the speech he should describe Gettysburg, and state the three things that gave it its importance: the battle, the cemetery, and the place where Lincoln's eloquent address was delivered. This would be the proper time to introduce the remarks of Lincoln, if the speaker sees fit to quote them. In the conclusion, tell of Abraham Lincoln's lowly birth, stating the time and place of its occurrence and the circumstances surrounding it, and of his final triumph. Conclude by presenting him as a model for the youth of to-day to emulate.

THE OUTLINE

LINCOLN AT GETTYSBURG

Opening.

- a. Greeting.
- b. Subject.
- c. Object.

Body.

- a. The town of Gettysburg.
- b. The battle of Gettysburg.
- c. The cemetery at Gettysburg.
- d. The address at Gettysburg.

Conclusion.

- a. Lincoln's birth, struggles and triumph.
- b. A model to emulate.

INFORMATION.

The Town.

Gettysburg a borough and the capital of Adams County, central southern Pennsylvania. Population 3,495.

The Battle.

The Battle of Gettysburg was fought July 1-3, 1863. Commanders: Gen. George Gordon Meade, Federal; Gen. Robert E. Lee, Confederate. Men engaged: Federal 87,000; Confederate 88,000; Federal killed, wounded and missing about 23,000; Confederate about 26,000.

The Cemetery.

The National Cemetery at Gettysburg was dedicated November 19, 1863. Lincoln's address was delivered on that occasion. The bodies of 3,580 Union soldiers are buried there.

Abraham Lincoln.

Born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809. The place of his birth was a miserable one-roomed log cabin, without floor or window, located in a sterile and solitary part of what was then the Kentucky wilderness. His father's name was Thomas Lincoln, and his mother's maiden name was Naney Hanks. When Abraham was nine years of age his mother died. He said of her, in

his hour of triumph, "All I have and am, I owe to my mother."

Hon. Joseph H. Choate, in his address on Lincoln, delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, November 13, 1900, thus spoke of Lincoln's early life: "From the time when he could barely handle tools until he attained his majority, Lincoln's life was that of a simple farm labourer, poorly clad, housed and fed, at work either on his father's wretched farm, or hired out to neighbouring farmers. His whole schooling, obtained during such odd times as could be spared from grinding labour, did not amount in all to as much as one year, and the quality of the teaching was of the lowest possible grade, including only the elements of reading, writing and ciphering. But it was the constant use of the little knowledge which he had that developed and exercised his mental powers. After the hard day's work was done, while others slept, he toiled on, always reading or writing. From an early age he did his own thinking and made up his own mind—invaluable traits in the future President."

Elected to the Illinois Legislature in 1834, 1836 and 1838. Elected to Congress in 1846. Debated the question of slavery with 'Judge Douglas in 1858. Inaugurated President of the United States, March 4, 1861. Issued the Emancipation Proclamation, 'January 1, 1863. Inaugurated President of the United States for the second time March 4, 1865. President Lincoln was shot by 'John Wilkes Booth in Ford's Theatre, Washington,

D. C., on the night of April 14, 1865, and died on the morning of April 15, 1865. His body is entombed at Springfield, Illinois.

“Great captains, with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes;
These all are gone, and, standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American.”

*Remarks at the Dedication of the National Cemetery
at Gettysburg*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remem-

ber what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

If the student holds closely to his subject, "Lincoln at Gettysburg," only a small amount of the information pertaining to Lincoln may properly be used, but it is presented here in order that he may have material to work with in case he desires to discuss any other incident in the life of this famous man.

ANALYSES OF SPEECHES

THE SPEECHES OF BRUTUS AND MARC ANTONY COMPARED

THESE two famous speeches are found in Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar." They differ in all things save the perfection of the construction of their framework. The style of presentation of one is faulty, that of the other is perfect. When Brutus appeared before the citizens of Rome to present the cause of the conspirators, he faced a friendly audience ready to believe whatever he told them; whereas Antony, when pleading the cause of Cæsar, stood before those who were convinced that Cæsar's death was merited and that Brutus and Cassius should be acclaimed as patriots for having deprived him of life. The audience was with Brutus and against Antony at the start, but these conditions were reversed at the conclusion of Antony's speech.

For the purposes of the play, Shakespeare intentionally makes Brutus conceited, overbearing, formal and self-satisfied in delivery, placing him, in his own opinion, on so high a pedestal of personal honesty that he is removed,

in his judgment, from any necessity of explaining wherein Cæsar was ambitious and worthy of death, or producing any warrant that constituted him his executioner. These are the weak points in the speech of Brutus, the absence of which in the speech of Antony accounts for the triumph of the latter. Every error made by Brutus is avoided by Antony, and even his ascribing oratorical ability to Brutus was done merely for the sake of winning sympathy from the audience by magnifying his cause and belittling his own ability to present it in a manner befitting its importance. Let us examine the two speeches in detail.

ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH OF BRUTUS

In the first place, the framework of this speech is perfect; it possesses an opening, a body and a conclusion that are clearly marked and perfectly arranged, but each of the three divisions bristles with glaring errors which would be fatal to any speech.

The opening commences with "Romans, countrymen, and lovers" and ends with "that you may the better judge." The body commences with "If there be any in this assembly" and ends with "I pause for a reply." The conclusion commences with "Then, none have I offended" and ends with "when it shall please my country to need my death."

The opening is neither clear nor satisfying. Brutus merely requests the people to hear him for his cause, and bids them be silent that they may hear. He asks them to take his word for all he says, and to censure him in their wisdom only after they have awakened their senses. It were as if a speaker of to-day should ask his listeners to believe him because of his good reputation, and not to presume to judge him until they had awakened their dull senses and were in a position to judge. The fault here is that Brutus belittled the ability of his judges to pass upon his acts, and requested them to pronounce them honourable because he assured them that he was an honourable man, and consequently his actions should be considered above reproach, or even suspicion. He might have been correct in all this, but it was a poor way of influencing and taking hold of an audience. However, Brutus felt so sure of his cause, and the hold he had on the hearts of the people of Rome, that he felt there was no need of explaining his conduct or producing any warrant for his actions, and he would have been correct in taking this stand were it not for the fact that an able speaker was to follow him who would unquestionably seize upon every opportunity to show and magnify the weak points in his opponent's statements. A speaker should never presume on the strength

of his own cause, nor underestimate that of his adversary, and he should avoid giving him an opening for attack either by omission or commission. Brutus, by failing to drive home and fasten in the minds of his audience the fact that Cæsar was ambitious to overcome the liberties of his country, left no support for his cause to rest upon when Antony comes forward and produces proof to the effect that Cæsar was not ambitious. Demosthenes was not guilty of this error in his great contest with Æschines.

The body or argument consists of mere generalities that prove nothing except the vanity and presumption of the speaker, and lead to a tame and impotent conclusion. Where is Brutus' proof that if Cæsar had lived all the Romans would die slaves? If he had produced such proof, nothing short of a complete refutation of it would have lost him the confidence and support of his countrymen. *e*

The conclusion is not effective as it contains nothing likely to sway an audience. The statement of Brutus, that the question of Cæsar's death is enrolled in the Capitol, does not suffice, as it was the place of the speaker himself to answer this question and not send his listeners in quest of the information. Brutus gave no proof in his argument that Cæsar had committed any act that warranted the infliction of the death penalty, and his mere statement in

his conclusion, that this question is enrolled in the Capitol, carries no weight, further than belief in his word gives it, nor does his other statement, that Cæsar's offences were not enforced, for which he suffered death, demand credence. The entire presentation is wofully weak for lack of the production of any authority creating Brutus the judge and executioner of Cæsar. Mere assertions will often move a friendly audience to applause, but this friendly feeling is soon changed if the speaker who follows produces only slight proofs that apparently refute these assertions and show the contrary to be the case, whereas if the first speaker produces the warrant for his assertions in the beginning, it will require the strongest kind of proof to overcome him. His is then the vantage ground and he should be able to hold it against great odds.

THE SPEECH OF BRUTUS

SHAKESPEARE

Romans, countrymen, and lovers! hear me for my cause, and be silent, that you may hear; believe me for mine honour, and have respect to mine honour, that you may believe; censure me in your wisdom, and awake your senses, that you may the better judge. If there be any in this assembly, any dear friend of Cæsar's, to him I say that Brutus' love to Cæsar was

no less than his. If then that friend demand why Brutus rose against Cæsar, this is my answer,—Not that I loved Cæsar less, but that I loved Rome more. Had you rather Cæsar were living, and die all slaves, than that Cæsar were dead, to live all freemen? As Cæsar loved me, I weep for him; as he was fortunate, I rejoice at it; as he was valiant, I honour him; but as he was ambitious, I slew him. There is tears for his love, joy for his fortune, honour for his valour, and death for his ambition. Who is here so base that would be a bondman? If any, speak, for him have I offended. Who is here so rude that would not be a Roman? If any, speak, for him have I offended. Who is here so vile that will not love his country? If any, speak, for him have I offended. I pause for a reply.

All. None, Brutus, none.

Then none have I offended. I have done no more to Cæsar than you shall do to Brutus. The question of his death is enrolled in the Capitol; his glory not extenuated, wherein he was worthy, nor his offences enforced, for which he suffered death.

Here comes his body, mourned by Marc Antony, who, though he had no hand in his death, shall receive the benefit of his dying, a place in the commonwealth; as which of you shall not? With this I depart,—that, as I slew my best lover for the good of Rome, I have the same dagger for myself, when it shall please my country to need my death.

ANALYSIS OF ANTONY'S SPEECH

The speech of Marc Antony is the masterpiece of oratory in the English language, and in its construction, arrangement and presentation it is marvellously near perfect.

The opening commences with "Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears" and ends with "Come I to speak in Cæsar's funeral." The body commences with "He was my friend, faithful and just to me" and ends with "And will, no doubt, with reasons answer you." The conclusion commences with "I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts" and ends with "The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny."

In his opening Antony asks to be heard, states what he is present for, and what he intends doing. All this he tells in a clear and concise manner. His argument is logical, strong and convincing, and he goes step by step from point to point, driving home his facts and clinching his arguments, until all is welded into a consistent and powerful whole that practically defies attack.

He shows that Cæsar brought many captives home to Rome, the money for whose ransom was turned into the coffers of the state instead of being placed in his private purse. Does not this denote his honesty? When the poor hun-

gered and suffered, Cæsar felt for them. This he certainly would not have done had he been ambitious, because ambition is stern and cruel. On the Lupercal he thrice rejected the proffered crown, which action certainly did not indicate ambition. Thus does Antony produce the proof to refute the claim of Brutus that Cæsar was killed because of his ambition to mount the throne over the liberties of his country, and having disposed of Brutus' reason for the cutting off of Cæsar he prepares his listeners to accept his charge that it was for personal reasons only that the conspirators desired to remove Cæsar. Note how he whets the appetite of the populace to learn the contents of Cæsar's will by telling them if they only knew what it contained they would almost worship its author, and how, by this means, he makes them greedily receptive of its contents when he divulges them. All through this portion of the speech Antony plays upon his audience as a skilful player upon an instrument, making his listeners respond to his every touch.

He now desires to turn the hatred of the citizens toward Brutus and Cassius, which he cleverly does by arousing their pity for Cæsar by showing his bloody and torn garment, and finally rouses them to action by exposing to their gaze the gaping wounds in Cæsar's body. The populace now cry out, "Revenge! About!

Burn! Fire! Kill! Slay! Let not a traitor live!" Antony, however, is not ready to allow the citizens to pass from his influence, as he still retains the strongest link, that of a selfish and personal one, that is to bind their fortunes to his. He therefore quiets their outburst only to arouse it to greater fury by telling them that if he only possessed the power of properly presenting Cæsar's cause, the very stones of Rome would rise and mutiny. Then they cry, "We'll mutiny." "We'll burn the house of Brutus." Now comes his final stroke, "You have forgot the will I told you of." They reply, "Most true; the will!—let's stay, and hear the will."

Antony does not intend that Brutus shall have the opportunity of undoing his work, so he now reads the will, which purports to give "To every several man, seventy-five drachmas." Here is the master-stroke of the clever politician, as by means of the will, making every Roman citizen an heir of Cæsar's, he makes him desirous of upholding the validity of the instrument which gives this money to him and confers many privileges, such as walks, arbours and orchards, upon him and his heirs forever, and this can be done only by the overthrow of Brutus, Cassius and their fellow conspirators. This portion pertaining to the will is not actually a part of the speech, as the speech

proper ends with "The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny," but it is introduced by Antony to clinch the arguments which he has so successfully driven into the hearts and minds of the populace, and which he is determined shall not be drawn out by his opponents. Having now so saturated the citizens with his desires that there can be no turning back, he lets them go on their mission of destruction, and sums up the situation in the words, "Mischief, thou art afoot; take thou what course thou wilt."

MARC ANTONY'S ORATION

SHAKESPEARE

Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears;
I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones;
So let it be with Cæsar. The noble Brutus
Hath told you Cæsar was ambitious;
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Cæsar answer'd it.
Here, under leave of Brutus and the rest,—
For Brutus is an honourable man,
So are they all, all honourable men,—
Come I to speak in Cæsar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me:
But Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man.
He hath brought many captives home to Rome,

Whose ransom did the general coffers fill;
Did this in Cæsar seem ambitious?
When that the poor have cried, Cæsar hath wept;
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff.
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man.
You all did see that on the Lupercal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse. Was this ambition?
Yet Brutus says, he was ambitious;
And, sure, he is an honourable man.
I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,
But here I am to speak what I do know.
You all did love him once, not without cause;
What cause withholds you then to mourn for him?
O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason!—Bear with me;
My heart is in the coffin there with Cæsar,
And I must pause till it come back to me.

.
But yesterday the word of Cæsar might
Have stood against the world; now lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence.
O masters! if I were dispos'd to stir
Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage,
I should do Brutus wrong and Cassius wrong,
Who, you all know, are honourable men.
I will not do them wrong; I rather choose
To wrong the dead, to wrong myself and you,
Than I will wrong such honourable men.
But here's a parchment, with the seal of Cæsar;
I found it in his closet; 'tis his will.

Let but the commons hear this testament—
Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read—
And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds,
And dip their napkins in his sacred blood,
Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy
Unto their issue.

.

If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.
You all do know this mantle: I remember
The first time ever Cæsar put it on;
'Twas on a summer's evening, in his tent,
That day he overcame the Nervii.
Look! in this place ran Cassius' dagger through;
See what a rent the envious Casca made;
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd;
And as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
Mark how the blood of Cæsar follow'd it,
As rushing out of doors, to be resolv'd
If Brutus so unkindly knock'd, or no;
For Brutus, as you know, was Cæsar's angel:
Judge, O you gods, how dearly Cæsar lov'd him!
This was the most unkindest cut of all;
For, when the noble Cæsar saw him stab,
Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms,
Quite vanquish'd him: then burst his mighty heart;
And, in his mantle muffling up his face,
Even at the base of Pompey's statua,
Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell.
O, What a fall was there, my countrymen!
Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,

Whilst bloody treason flourish'd over us.
 O, now you weep, and I perceive you feel
 The dint of pity; these are gracious drops.
 Kind souls, what! weep you when you but behold
 Our Cæsar's vesture wounded? Look you here,
 Here is himself, marr'd, as you see, with traitors.

.
 Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up
 To such a sudden flood of mutiny.
 They that have done this deed are honourable.
 What private griefs they have, alas! I know not,
 That made them do it; they are wise and honourable,
 And will, no doubt, with reasons answer you.
 I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts:
 I am no orator, as Brutus is,
 But, as you know me all, a plain blunt man,
 That love my friend; and that they know full well
 That gave me public leave to speak of him.
 For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
 Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
 To stir men's blood: I only speak right on;
 I tell you that which you yourselves do know;
 Show you sweet Cæsar's wounds, poor, poor dumb
 mouths,
 And bid them speak for me: but, were I Brutus,
 And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony
 Would ruffle up your spirits, and put a tongue
 In every wound of Cæsar that should move
 The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.

All. We'll mutiny.

First Citizen. We'll burn the house of Brutus.

Third Citizen. Away, then! come, seek the con-
 spirators.

Antony. Yet hear me, countrymen; yet hear me speak.

All. Peace, ho! Hear Antony, most noble Antony.

Antony. Why, friends, you go to do you know not what.

Wherein hath Cæsar thus deserv'd your loves?

Alas, you know not!—I must tell you, then.

You have forgot the will I told you of.

All. Most true;—the will!—let's stay, and hear the will.

Antony. Here is the will, and under Cæsar's seal.
To every Roman citizen he gives,
To every several man, seventy-five drachmas.

Second Citizen. Most noble Cæsar!—we'll revenge his death.

Third Citizen. O royal Cæsar!

Antony. Hear me with patience.

All. Peace, ho!

Antony. Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
On this side Tiber; he hath left them you,
And to your heirs forever, common pleasures,
To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves.
Here was a Cæsar! when comes such another?

First Citizen. Never, never!—Come, away, away!
We'll burn his body in the holy place,
And with the brands fire the traitors' houses.
Take up the body.

Second Citizen. Go, fetch fire.

Third Citizen. Pluck down benches.

Fourth Citizen. Pluck down forms, windows, any thing.

(Exeunt Citizens, with the body.)

Antony. Now let it work. Mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt!

THE SPEECHES OF PAUL, THE APOSTLE

ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DEFENCE BEFORE AGRIPPA

Before commencing his defence before King Agrippa, Paul propitiates his judge by telling him that he is particularly happy over the fact that the hearing is to take place before him, because he knows him to be expert in all customs and questions pertaining to the Jews. The second and third verses are not properly a part of the speech, but are merely an introduction explanatory of Paul's pleasure at the arrival of the time when he is permitted to answer his accusers, and the expression of his satisfaction at having his cause tried before Agrippa.

The opening commences with "My manner of life from my youth" and ends with "I am accused of the Jews." The body commences with "Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead" and ends with "and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me." The conclusion commences with "Whereupon, O King Agrippa, I was not dis-

obedient unto the heavenly vision" and concludes with "and should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles."

This speech is a model of eloquence, and will well repay careful consideration. Its style is simple, vivid and convincing, and it bears on its face the impress of sincerity. Note how simple, clear and comprehensive is the statement, how learned, logical and convincing the argument, and how reasonable, impressive and moving the conclusion. There is no better model for the student of speech-making to follow than this address of Paul's.

The facts in his statement are clearly laid down. He tells his judge that all the Jews know the manner of his life from his youth upward, that they knew him to be a Pharisee of the Pharisees, that he stands to be judged for entertaining the hope of the promise made of God unto the patriarchs, and to this promise the twelve tribes of Israel are continually looking. These are the facts upon which he argues, and they certainly furnish splendid material for an argument. Note how he qualifies as a witness for Jesus by narrating the fact that he was a Pharisee, one who had always persecuted the Christians, and therefore he was not likely to falsely testify in their favor, but was one who would be apt to hide what was favourable to them and bring out whatever was

against them. This is a powerful point, and worth remembering by all students of argumentation. Notice his statement that he stands to be judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto the fathers, to which promise all the twelve tribes of Israel look, consequently if he is guilty of wrong in so hoping, all the Jews are likewise guilty. This is a masterful point, and incapable of refutation.

His argument is most sound. Should the power of God to raise the dead be considered incredible? He creates life and takes it away, why then should He not possess the power of restoring it? Paul, previous to his conversion, did many things contrary to the teachings of Jesus, therefore he is not astonished at the fact that other men do so, but he is anxious that they shall listen to his testimony, believe him as a witness, see the light, and become as he is, "except these bonds." Paul's narration of the miracle is most convincing. He tells the king that at midday he saw the light, it would have been nothing miraculous had he seen it at night, and that it was above the brightness of the sun, and that it shone about him and all who were travelling with him. These things may well be believed, he tells Agrippa, because they were attested by many, and were "not done in a corner." He then states that he heeded the voice of Jesus and went forth

to preach his doctrine, and it was for this that the Jews attempted to kill him, but by God's blessing he was delivered from his enemies and allowed to continue his work. That Paul's defence of himself was successful, is attested by Agrippa's remark to Festus, "This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar."

PAUL'S DEFENCE

THE BIBLE

Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself. Then Paul stretched forth the hand, and answered for himself:

I think myself happy, king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee touching all the things whereof I am accused of the Jews:

Especially because I know thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews: wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently.

My manner of life from my youth, which was at the first among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all the Jews:

Which knew me from the beginning, if they would testify, that after the most straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee.

And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers:

Unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come. For

which hope's sake, king Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews.

Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead?

I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth.

Which thing I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them.

And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities.

Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests,

At midday, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me.

And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.

And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.

But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee;

Delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee,

To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.

Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision:

But shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.

For these causes the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me.

Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come:

That Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles.

ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S ADDRESS ON MARS' HILL

This is another beautiful specimen of oratory, both in construction and in presentation, the statement being clear, the argument sound, and the appeal logical.

The opening commences with "Ye men of Athens" and ends with "him declare I unto you." The body commences with "God that made the world" and ends with "graven by art and man's device." The conclusion commences

with "And the times of this ignorance" and ends with "he hath raised him from the dead."

The statement contains the assertion that the Athenians are too superstitious, and the one fact that Paul intends to declare to them the God to whom they erected the altar inscribed **TO THE UNKNOWN GOD**. This one fact—his determination to declare unto them the true God—is the only one he mentions in his opening, the only one upon which he reasons, and the only one upon which he bases his appeal.

In a beautiful sequence of statements and logical deductions, he leads up to the appeal that all men should hearken unto the commandment of God and repent, because of the appointment of the day in which the world shall be judged.

This address will repay close study, as it forcibly illustrates one of the main requirements of a speech—that it should possess an object. A speech should always have one main point from which all other points radiate.

PAUL'S ADDRESS

THE BIBLE

Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' hill, and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.

For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I

found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.

God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands;

Neither is he worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things;

And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation;

That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us:

For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.

Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device.

And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent:

Because he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.

MATERIAL FOR THE STUDENT OF SPEECH-MAKING.

Marc Antony's oration and the Apostle Paul's two speeches furnish splendid material for the student of speech-making to work with, and no matter how much time he may devote to a careful consideration of them, he will be amply rewarded for it.

Observe Marc Antony's opening. It consists of one statement—that he is come to speak in Cæsar's funeral. This statement is so comprehensive a one, that it permits the speaker to touch upon any point in the life or death of Cæsar. All that precede this point are mere general statements that have no bearing upon the speech and are only used as an introduction.

Consider the argument carefully. Antony states that Cæsar was his friend, faithful and just to him; and by judging his friend by what that friend showed to him in his words, actions and manners, Antony was adopting the one fair test by which a friend should be tested—his behaviour toward his friend. If a friend is faithful and just to us, we should believe him to be faithful and just to all, consequently when Antony appears as a witness in behalf of Cæsar, he should only speak of him as he himself has found him. Cæsar brought many captives home to Rome, but their ransom went into

the general coffers for the benefit of the state, and was not used for the enrichment of Cæsar. He refused the kingly crown when it was offered him on the Lupercal, which, being a fact known to all the citizens of Rome, required no proof to satisfy them of its truth, but merely needed to be recalled to their memories. Antony now awakens their pity for Cæsar by telling them that the body of the mighty man whose word might have stood against the world, now lies unmourned and unhonoured. He tells the people that he does not wish to stir them to mutiny and rage against Brutus and Cassius by merely playing upon their passions, rather than do which, he would wrong the dead, the people and himself, but he merely wishes to tell them the truth about Cæsar and allow them to judge of the justice of the deed which removed him from among the living. He now produces the will of Cæsar, not to read it, but merely to arouse their curiosity regarding its contents, and cause them to listen closely to it when the moment comes when he thinks the reading of it will be most effective. This is a very cleverly arranged point, and it worked in a most satisfactory manner. Antony now prepares for his final stroke. He shows the populace the rent and bloody garment of Cæsar, craftily telling them that it is the one he wore the day he overcame in battle an

enemy of his country; he pictures to them how the ingratitude of Brutus broke great Cæsar's heart; and tells them that in the fall of this matchless man, ended the liberties and glories of Rome. Now is the psychological moment for his climax, and he makes it by tearing the cover from the body of Cæsar and exposing it in all its ghastly horror to the startled eyes of the people. The speaker has now accomplished his purpose, and his audience is ready to obey his will, but he desires to grapple them to him by bonds that cannot easily be broken, so he reads the will to them whereby they are made Cæsar's heirs. This makes them desirous of upholding the validity of the will, which can only be done by keeping Brutus and Cassius from coming into power. Thus are they knit to Antony and his fortunes, and thus is accomplished the object of the speech, which Antony clearly denotes in the previous scene when he says to the servant of Octavius Cæsar:

“Yet, stay a while;

Thou shalt not back till I have borne this corse
Into the market-place: there shall I try,
In my oration, how the people take
The cruel issue of those bloody men;
According to the which thou shalt discourse
To young Octavius of the state of things.”

In his defence before Agrippa, Paul makes but this one statement of fact: "And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers," and his whole argument is devoted to proving the truth of this statement. The conclusion sums up the result of his experiences for placing faith in the promise made of God, and states that promise to be "That Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles."

In his address to the men of Athens, Paul makes but one statement of fact: "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." He then immediately starts in to show that God is a spirit, and can only be worshipped in the spirit; that He dwells not in temples made by hand, but is everywhere present to those who seek Him; that only in obeying His will can we truly live, exercise our divine powers, and exist according to His nature; for that we are of the same nature as God is attested by Paul in quoting, For we are also his offspring. Therefore, he reasons, as we are the offspring of God, we should not liken Him unto any material thing, such as gold, silver or stone, nor any article fashioned by the hand of man. This constitutes the proof of his assertion, made in his opening,

that he will declare to them THE UNKNOWN GOD. He finally makes his appeal to his hearers to repent of their sins and turn to the worship of the true God, by telling them that God had been patient with them in the past because of their ignorance of His personality, but now that He had sent to them a Revealer, He would hold them to a strict judgment at the hands of Him whom He had revealed to them as the Living God, by raising Him from the dead.

COMPOSITION

WHILE this is not a work on English composition, still, for the benefit of those whose opportunities for acquiring information on that subject have been limited, it will not be out of place to here offer a few hints for their guidance.

WORDS.

Words are the speaker's principal means of conveying his thoughts, and the effectiveness of his speech greatly depends on the choice he makes of them, and the manner in which they are arranged. By this, it is not intended to advise the speaker to allow his mind to dwell upon words; far from it, but merely to point out the fact that the words he uses will be more effective if arranged in proper order than they would be if carelessly thrown together. See that the words are expressive of the thought they are intended to convey. Choose simple, vital words that instantly carry the idea to the mind to which it is addressed. Let the words suit the matter of the speech, and the character of the audience. Be particular not to "shoot over the heads" of the listeners by employing

language which is beyond their comprehension. High-sounding phrases often make a speaker ridiculous, while simplicity of language ennobles any discourse. Have the sentences short, avoiding parenthetical phrases wherever possible, only using them to amplify or explain a thought upon which the speaker has started to speak but which he wishes in some manner to qualify before he allows it to pass from him. Parenthetical phrases tend to make sentences involved and difficult for the listener to instantly understand, and anything that tends to mystify the listener should be avoided by the speaker, who should aim to make himself heard and understood without in any manner compelling the listener to exert himself in an endeavour to hear and understand the speaker. Be explicit, stating clearly and unmistakably, in as few words as possible, exactly what is desired to be conveyed.

OPPOSITION.

Antithesis, or contrast, is the most effective and powerful way of stating a fact; as, "This universal soul, he calls Reason; it is not mine, or thine, or his, but we are its." To merely state that "it is not mine, or thine, or his," would leave the matter unsettled, but it is clinched by saying, "but we are its." When Robert Emmett said: "The man dies, but his

memory lives; that mine may not perish, that it may live in the respect of my countrymen," he made it clear not only that he did not wish his memory to pass into oblivion, but that he desired it to live in a particular place—the hearts of his countrymen.

George F. Hoar, in his address on holding the Philippine Islands, delivered in the United States Senate, April 17, 1900, made this emphatic statement: "I maintain that the holding in subjection an alien people, governing them against their will for any fancied advantage to them, is not only not an end provided for by the Constitution, but is an end prohibited therein." Here the senator leaves no room for doubt, but plainly states that it is not only not provided for in the Constitution, but is absolutely prohibited by it.

These examples will, I trust, sufficiently illustrate my point as regards the opposition of words, and demonstrate effectively its importance to the speaker.

SERIES.

In oratory, a series consists of a group of emphatic words or phrases, of three or more members, so closely related as to blend together and form a perfect whole; as, "The next moment he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless; doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence

and the grave.” Here we have two series, one showing how President Garfield lay after being struck by the assassin’s bullet, and the other stating to what he was doomed. This striking arrangement of words is to be found in James G. Blaine’s eulogy of Garfield, which, for expressive and accurate use of words, is a splendid specimen of demonstrative oratory. It would have been incomplete to have said: “The next moment he lay wounded; doomed to the grave,” because he was more than “wounded,” he was “bleeding and helpless”; and he was not only “doomed to the grave,” but he was “doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence and the grave.” Let us take a simpler example as an illustration. Daniel Webster says: “It (eloquence) must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion.” Here are three elements that must enter into the creation of eloquence—the man, the subject, and the occasion—and it cannot be created in the absence of any one of the ingredients.

John M. Thurston used the series in a masterly manner in the peroration of his speech on Cuba, delivered in the Senate of the United States, March 24, 1898, when he spoke as follows: “Force compelled the signature of unwilling royalty to the great Magna Charta; force put life into the Declaration of Independence, and made effective the Emancipation

Proclamation; force beat with naked hands upon the iron gateway of the Bastile and made reprisal in one awful hour for centuries of kingly crime; force waved the flag of revolution over Bunker Hill, and marked the snows of Valley Forge with bloodstained feet; force held the broken line at Shiloh, climbed the flame-swept hill at Chattanooga, and stormed the clouds on Lookout Heights; force marched with Sherman to the sea, rode with Sheridan in the valley of the Shenandoah, and gave Grant victory at Appomattox; force saved the Union, kept the stars in the flag, made 'niggers' men.'" Note the cumulative power of the evidence he produces to show that force was the means employed in all ages in an endeavour to restore to man his long-lost liberty, and observe the effective manner in which he groups the kindred members into series. The first series consists of three great charters, the Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, and the Emancipation Proclamation. The second, of three events where the people fought, bled and suffered in the cause of liberty. The third, of three important battles of our Civil War. The fourth, of three famous Federal generals. The fifth, of three events brought about by the success of the Union arms.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Often an illustration, or a figure of speech, will make the idea clear in a few words. Notice the vivid picture drawn by Henry D. Thoreau in the following extract from his delightful book, "Walden; or, Life in the Woods": "Time is but the stream I go a-fishing in. I drink at it; but while I drink I see the sandy bottom and detect how shallow it is. Its thin current slides away, but eternity remains. I would drink deeper; fish in the sky, whose bottom is pebbly with stars." A whole chapter of words would not so impress the mind of a reader or listener as does this one striking portraiture.

At the Banquet of the New England Society at Charleston, S. C., December 22, 1898, George F. Hoar delivered a charming address, and when speaking of the reunion of the North and South, spoke thus eloquently: "If there be a single lesson which the people of this country have learned from their wonderful and crowded history it is that the North and South are indispensable to each other. They are the blades of mighty shears, worthless apart, but when bound by an indissoluble union, powerful, irresistible, and terrible as the shears of fate; like the shears of Atropos, severing every thread and tangled web of evil, cutting out for

humanity its beautiful garments of liberty and light from the cloth her dread sisters spin and weave." Care must, of course, be exercised to use illustrations within the knowledge of the audience, otherwise they will confuse instead of enlighten, and here is a good place to emphasize the point that the spoken matter must always befit the speaker, the subject, and the audience. Senator Hoar addressed a gathering of educated listeners to whom the story of the three sisters, spinning, weaving, and severing the thread of life, was known, consequently its introduction on such an occasion was appropriate, but had he been speaking before a mixed political gathering, or a miscellaneous assembly, his good judgment would have kept him from using such an illustration.

Sargent S. Prentiss, when arguing in behalf of the right of self-defence, drew these striking parallels: "The principles of self-defence . . . do not require that action shall be withheld till it can be of no avail. When the rattlesnake gives warning of his fatal purpose, the wary traveller waits not for the poisonous blow, but plants upon his head his armed heel, and crushes out at once 'his venom and his strength.' When the hunter hears the rustling in the jungle, and beholds the large green eyes of the spotted tiger glaring upon him, he waits not for the deadly spring, but sends at once

through the brain of his crouching enemy the swift and leaden death.”

The advocate here presents his views in a most powerful and impressive manner, using illustrations at once both apt and vivid, which are conveyed instantly to the minds of his audience, and cannot fail to favourably impress them with the views and doctrines expressed and expounded by him.

Word-pictures act instantly on the mind, being perceived almost as readily as are pictures that are carried to the brain by means of the eye, and they create an impression equally lasting. Words are soon forgotten, while pictures and facts will remain as long as the faculty of memory exists.

THE DESCRIPTIVE POWER OF WORDS.

Well-chosen words are capable of vividly portraying scenes and bringing them clearly to the mind of the reader or listener through the medium either of the eye or the ear, and speakers are advised to study the productions of Macaulay, Gibbon, Milton and Shakespeare, with the view of noting particularly the expressive power of their words. Macaulay's description of the scene attending the impeachment of Warren Hastings, is a marvellous piece of word-picturing. It is as follows:

There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster, but, perhaps, there was never a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly-cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present, and to the past, were collected on one spot, and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilisation were now displayed; with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast.

Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of our Constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus; the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings; the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers; the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party in-

flamed with just resentment; the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame.

Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under Garter king-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three-fourths as the Upper House then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way, George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and the sons of the king. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing.

The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous Empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated around the queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the ambassadors of great kings and commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons,

in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa.

There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition—a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There, too, was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia, whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock-hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

DELIVERY

MATTER that is not spoken cannot properly be considered a speech. It may be excellent literature, but it will not be a speech unless it has once rung with the magic tones of the voice and vibrated with the magnetic mentality of the speaker. Thoughts may be written down at white heat, but they soon cool off and lose the life that was infused into them at the time they came into being. This is one of the main reasons why a speech sounds, when properly delivered, better than when it is read in cold type, but, on the other hand, a speech well constructed, but improperly spoken, will appear better even in the cold type than when spoken incorrectly.

The career of Edmund Burke splendidly illustrates the fact that all great builders of speeches are not necessarily equally great in the delivery of them. The general supposition is that Burke was a great speaker, whereas the truth is that he was a very indifferent one. He was a brainy and learned man, an able parliamentarian, a masterful constructor of speeches, but a poor deliverer of them. In fact,

his delivery was so deficient in power, and so devoid of attractiveness, that this great man was called the dinner bell of the House of Commons, as most of the members left the House as soon as he commenced to address it. His speeches are marvels of constructive skill, but his oratorical powers were very limited.

In order to be impressive, a speaker must give expression to thoughts. The words must be living creatures brought into life by being impregnated by the mentality of the speaker, which carries the thought into them and thus makes them fitting symbols of noble ideas. This brings us to the point as to whether a speech should be written out in full and memorised before being delivered, or whether it is best to trust to the inspiration of the moment to clothe the thoughts with words. This is a most important question, and deserves careful consideration.

MANNER OF DELIVERY.

Speakers, in all ages, have differed as to the best method for delivering their thoughts to those for whom they were gathered, and the author, while he has decided opinions on the question, does not consider it wise to give any ironclad rules on the subject for the guidance of students. Men's natures, styles and temperaments differ so widely, that a system that

proves a help to one person may be a hindrance to another, consequently the many systems that have been employed by successful speakers will be here discussed, but nothing more than advice will be advanced as to which is the best one to follow. A speaker might try them all, and thus learn which will best supply his individual need.

SYSTEMS OF DELIVERY.

There are two places for a speaker to carry his speech—in his head, and on sheets of paper. There can be no question but that the former is the better place, but how is the speaker to get his speech into his head, and then how shall he deliver it to the listener? That is the information that the author will aim to give. First, let us consider the different ways of delivering a speech. There are six ways; as follows:

1. Memorised and spoken.
2. Read from manuscript.
3. Part memorised and part extempore.
4. Spoken from notes.
5. Part read and part memorised.
6. Extempore.

Speakers who adopt the first plan, are in the early stages of their work even after they have completed the construction of the framework of their speech and arranged the matter; be-

cause, after every word has been carefully selected and set down, they must start on the severe task of memorising what they have written. This, to some, is practically impossible to perfectly perform, and when, after the speech has been indifferently memorised, the speaker attempts to deliver it, he will be apt to break down and be a dismal failure; for if he loses a sentence, some times even a word, the chain will be broken, he becomes flustered, and the power of again gathering the words which he relied upon for expressing his thoughts will pass from him. Some, who have excellent memories, do fairly well with this style of delivery, but even at its best it is like warmed-over meat—it has lost its savour. A memorised speech is not a speech, it is a recitation, and the utterer of it is nothing more than a declaimer or, in some cases, an actor who is giving expression to ideas and thoughts that are not his own, but have been borrowed from the works of others. A genius will produce wonderful effects even though he violates the rules that are set down for the guidance of ordinary persons, but geniuses are extraordinary persons that are not to be governed by rules, nor measured by rules. They are uncertain and unreliable, being more likely to fail in their undertakings than to succeed; in fact, usually failing, unless every circumstance is

properly focussed for them and the psychological moment is presented to them. Therefore, because at great intervals men who have adopted this style of presenting their views to audiences have achieved success, it does not go to prove that it is the best style for others to adopt; because these remarkable men were exceptional men, and it is the exception that proves the rule. We are told that Demosthenes followed this style; that he wrote and rewrote his speeches before delivering them, and rehearsed every word and every movement. If this statement concerning the great orator is correct, it can be accounted for from the fact that Demosthenes was lacking in faith—faith in himself. He was fully aware of his shortcomings, and laboured all his life to overcome the vocal and physical defects that came with him into the world.

In early life he was of a nervous, retiring nature; his voice was weak, and possessed many defects; his body was frail and ungainly; his thoughts did not flow freely, and he was about as poor a specimen of a candidate for oratorical honours as can very well be imagined. He was aware of the fact that nature had slighted him, and was convinced that he must rely absolutely on art for all his accomplishments and powers. This being the case, he left nothing to chance, and relied only on care-

ful preparation of matter and manner. He worked on his voice until it became sonorous and flexible; he exercised his body until it became strong and graceful; he fed his mind from the rich storehouse of knowledge until he made of it a mighty receptacle of immortal truths, and he always wrote out his speeches and memorised them. In spite of this marvellous example in favour of this style of delivery, the author considers it only as an exceptional instance, and advises students not to follow the example so far as memorising the matter that is to be spoken is concerned, but in all other regards to follow it closely. By this it is meant that a student of speech-making should fit himself thoroughly for his task by working to bring out the best that is in him—vocally, physically and mentally—as Demosthenes did, but not to blindly adopt his plan of memorising all his spoken matter.

Those who adopt the second plan, and read from manuscript, are even worse off than those who memorise their matter; for, while they escape the task of committing the words to memory, they are compelled to go through the double mental process of reading—they must first carry the matter from the paper to the brain and then transmit it to the listener by means of the voice. They also acknowledge, by

the mere fact of their reading, that the matter is not truly their own—it is not a part of themselves—but has been gathered from some other source, or sources, and merely borrowed, as it were, for the occasion. Reading a speech of any kind, be it an address of welcome, a plea at the bar of justice, or a sermon from the pulpit, robs the delivery of much of its effectiveness. It has a bad influence over the speaker by chaining his thoughts to the paper before him, and preventing their going with the words he utters. It prevents his looking at his audience and addressing them, as he is fully occupied watching the manuscript for fear, if he takes his eyes away from it, he will “lose his place,” and, finally, it retards, if it does not utterly destroy, his power of strengthening the spoken word by means of gesture. Reading a speech has a bad effect on an audience because it appears that the effort of the speaker is artificial, that he is not sincere, and that the matter he reads is not his own. Rev. Dr. Hugh Black, a learned man and an able writer, always fell short of completely satisfying his auditors whenever the author heard him, for the reason that the attention and expression that should have gone to them were directed to the manuscript before him. On the contrary, Rev. Dr. David James Burrell, a ripe scholar and a splendid writer, is a most enchanting,

convincing and thoroughly satisfying speaker, because he uses neither notes, nor manuscript, but speaks directly to his listeners, many times, as it were, taking them by the hand and personally conveying a message to them. Dr. Burrell is so thoroughly at home before an audience, so completely master of himself, such a splendid builder of sermons, that no effort is ever apparent when he speaks, and you are impressed with the fact that you are listening to a man who has a message to deliver and who knows how to deliver it. In his own expressive language, he "carries his own staff" and performs his duties himself without depending on a manuscript that would hinder instead of assist him. Dr. Black adopts the second style of delivery, and Dr. Burrell the sixth.

Some speakers there are who attempt to follow both the first and sixth styles of delivery in the same discourse, and, of course, in trying to serve two masters, they fail. They memorise the most important passages and leave the remainder to chance, and, as is usually the case with things that are left to chance, they go wrong. This third style of delivery is practised at the risk of the speaker, for, unless he be more than ordinarily equipped for the work he undertakes, there is bound to be a vast difference between the memorised and the extemporaneous portions of his remarks.

The fourth style of delivery, speaking from notes, is one that is adopted by many speakers, lawyers particularly making use of it, and, in the opinion of the author, it is one of the least objectionable of the many styles of delivery, although it does, in a measure, divert the attention of the speaker from his matter and fasten it on his notes, and anything that tends to take the speaker's mind from his subject is bad. One who becomes addicted to the use of notes, or any aids outside of himself, will depend on them, and it is remarkable how deep such dependence becomes. It is told of a famous advocate that he always held some small article, such as a pencil or piece of string, in his hand while speaking, and that he was never known to address a jury unless accompanied by his little companion. On one occasion he was summing up an important case before judge and jury, holding in his hand a piece of string which he would wind around one finger and then unwind. In the midst of his argument he desired to consult his notes, and laid the piece of string down on the table before him. His associate counsel, seeing the string on the table, and not knowing of the habit of his fellow-lawyer, threw it into the waste basket. The attorney, having consulted his notes, looked for the string and failed to find it. He became nervous, fidgetted about, was unable to collect his thoughts, and

was compelled to take his seat without finishing his argument. Just as serious a catastrophe would befall some speakers if they relied on notes and, when they were wanted, could not find them, consequently it is not the best style of delivery to speak from notes.

The fifth style of delivery is a combination of the first and second styles and much the same objections can be brought against it as are adduced against the third style, therefore the author does not advise a speaker to adopt it.

The views of many regarding the meaning of extemporaneous speaking appear to the author to be erroneous. Extempore means unpremeditated, but not unprepared. Extemporaneous speaking, therefore, means uttering without premeditation, but not speaking without thought or without preparation. The general idea is that an extemporaneous speaker gives expression to thoughts that enter his mind for the first time at the moment they are uttered, that he clothes them in words that he has never given the trouble of arranging, and that they fly into position, and do his will, as if by magic. All this is far from the truth, and the sooner the error is dispelled the better it will be for the coming generation of speakers. An extemporaneous speaker does not write out his speech and memorise it, but he does think it out, and, in most cases very thoroughly, and writes it on

the tablets of his mind, even though he does not write it on sheets of paper. The man who commences his speech anywhere and ends nowhere is not a speaker, he is a babbler, and it is this wretched specimen of a spouter, or "chin-wagger," that has given most persons their conception of an extemporaneous speaker. At public meetings, in the legislative chambers, even in the pulpits, are to be found these men who speak nothing but words, and, in many cases, meaningless ones at that. They attempt to speak on subjects that they know little, if anything, about, and in a manner that clearly shows that delivery has received no study at their hands. This is an insult to the intelligence of the audience, and one that merits the most severe censure. On many occasions a person may be unexpectedly called upon to address a gathering, but no man possessed of a spark of wisdom will attempt to speak upon a subject on which he is not informed. He may make some general remarks regarding his appreciation of the honour which the call gives him, but he will not speak upon a subject that he does not understand, nor which he has not well in hand.

An extemporaneous speaker gathers his material and stores it in the recesses of his brain until it is required; he forms his method of speech from a study of the literature of all

ages; he enriches his vocabulary by paying attention to how other men have produced effects by the expressive use of words; he studies the sciences, arts and letters; he practises to make his voice a fitting vehicle to convey the knowledge he has thus gained, and, when the occasion arises for him to give utterance to his ideas they come "like the outbreking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force."

Daniel Webster, whose language I have just quoted, is spoken of as an extemporaneous speaker, and he was one in the proper acceptance of the term, but he was not of those who trust to chance and rely on some power other than their own to perform their work for them. He never delivered an address, made an argument, or entered into a debate, until after the most careful preparation. Many suppose his great speech in reply to Senator Hayne was unprepared. Far from it. Webster had been in preparation all his life for the delivery of that speech, and, by means of that preparation, he was ready to meet the issue when it faced him. Knowledge is *only* knowledge when it has entered into the subconscious recesses of the brain and become a part of the man himself, and it is this knowledge that is necessary to the making of an extemporaneous speaker.

As the author writes these words, the form

of an apparently young man looms up before him, who personifies his idea of an extemporaneous speaker. He is the Rev. Dr. Ernest M. Stires, Rector of St. Thomas's Church, New York. Born in Virginia, some forty odd years ago, he early entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church, and after faithful, which, necessarily, was hard, service in several small parishes in Virginia and Georgia, he was called to the rectorship of Grace Church, Chicago, and finally to that of St. Thomas's Church, New York.

Dr. Stires possesses a zeal, when speaking from the pulpit, which completely controls his delicately-formed frame and so influences his manner and appearance as to remind one vividly of a young prophet who is inspired to deliver his message. These appear to be strong words, but they can easily be verified by a visit to St. Thomas's Church on an occasion when Dr. Stires occupies the pulpit. No manuscript or notes cumber Dr. Stires; he carries his sermon in his head, speaks it from his heart, using a beautifully modulated and caressing voice as a vehicle, and delivers it in a sincere and manly fashion straight to the hearts and minds of his congregation.

Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Slicer is another excellent example of an extemporaneous speaker. He is the minister of All Souls' Church, New

York. Dr. Slicer impresses the listener with his simplicity and the apparent inexhaustible source of his knowledge. He is always full of his subject, and speaks without notes of any kind. He is not demonstrative. Seldom, during the many times the author has occupied a seat among his congregation, has he seen him make a gesture of any kind during a sermon. Dr. Slicer does not preach, he talks, and he talks in a manner that appears informal and unstudied, but it is so uniformly even, so clear, so convincing and, withal, so eloquent, that one is impressed with the thought that only by careful and painstaking study has such perfection been reached. In Dr. Slicer's case, his is the art that hides art.

The six forms of delivery have been considered, and it can be plainly seen that the author considers the extemporaneous style the best one to be followed; but, as previously stated, no rules will be given for its acquirement. In place of rules, a few hints and suggestions will be offered for the guidance of those who desire to become speakers, or to assist those who wish to improve the powers they already possess.

ADVICE AS TO STYLE OF DELIVERY.

In order to become a really great speaker, the work of preparation should be commenced while the candidate is young. Mental, vocal

and physical power should be cultivated from the earliest formative period, and the cultivation should be continued through the whole of life. Overtaxation of the faculties must be avoided, and dissipation of no kind indulged. Many instances might be cited where able men have failed in the midst of promising oratorical careers through indulging their passion for alcoholic liquor, as such an indulgence undermines the moral, mental, vocal and physical powers of the man, and there is no department of labor that demands of its servant greater perfection in all his attributes than does that of oratory. Excessive smoking is also injurious, especially to the vocal organs, and while no perceptible harm is caused by moderate smoking, it is advisable for the speaker to refrain from the use of tobacco, because the use of it cannot, under any circumstances, benefit him.

A thorough education is one of the speaker's great essentials. The mind should be stored with the treasures of all ages, and the works of all men compelled to give up their wealth and wisdom for the use and guidance of the one who is setting out upon his journey of life. Not only should books be studied, but nature in all her manifold forms—the earth, the air, the water; life in all its types, man, brute, bird; the mineral and vegetable kingdoms—for here are to be found fruitful fields for study by him who

is attuned with nature, and thus enabled to understand her language. Such an one, Shakespeare says,

“Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.”

The author recommends a speaker to adopt the following process in arranging and delivering a speech: Taking it for granted that he is mentally, vocally and physically qualified for the task he undertakes, it is advisable, in the first place, to gather the facts he desires to use; then, construct the framework, carefully arranging the matter in the order in which it is to be used; firmly fix the framework and facts in the mind, and the speech will then be ready for delivery.

It is beneficial to a beginner to write the speech out in full, but not to memorise it, as this will enable him to see what errors of diction and misuse of words he is liable to fall into, and it will also tend to make him expert in fitting the words to the framework. After becoming proficient in the writing of a speech, it is advisable to do away with this aid and merely marshal the facts mentally. This is splendid training for the memory—a most powerful adjunct to the speaker—and when the power of delivering a speech from the facts and framework is acquired, the speaker gains a confidence

that nothing else will give him, and he becomes an oratorical warrior who is ever ready for the fray. His well-stored brain will furnish him information on almost any topic; in five minutes he will be able to outline a framework that will present his matter, if not complicated, in an orderly and effective manner, and his trained voice will obey his will for the delivery. From this careful preparation evolves the extempore speaker—skilled, trained, educated—ready to speak like one inspired on questions which to the unthinking suddenly arise, but whose coming the orator has anticipated, and which, by careful preparation, he has fitted himself to grapple with. All this requires labour; no good work was ever accomplished without labour—but it is labour that strengthens and uplifts the worker and gives him a tremendous power over the lives and fortunes of others.

CLASSES OF SPEECHES.

There are many kinds of speeches; but all speeches, no matter what their class, are structurally the same. That is to say, they possess similar frameworks which, in all cases, consist of an opening, a body and a conclusion.

The opening, consisting of a statement of fact or facts, or the mention of a point or points that the speaker intends to prove, should be delivered in an easy, conversational manner,

merely stating, without vehemence of any kind, the matter he intends to dwell upon in his argument. The body of the speech, being either argumentative or narrative, should be delivered in a manner to appeal to the intellect, unless the speech is of a demonstrative nature, when it should be delivered in a manner to move the listener through the feelings, and not the reason, but otherwise, it should appeal to the reason alone. The conclusion, being a summing up, or an appeal, may be more or less demonstrative, according to the nature of the speech, and is generally spoken with more power and greater expression than either the opening or body.

Speeches are classified as follows:

First—Philosophic, which addresses itself to the intellect.

Second—Demonstrative, which aims to move by appealing to the emotions.

Third—Forensic, which is principally argumentative.

Fourth—Deliberative, pertaining to legislative assemblies.

Fifth—Social, to entertain or amuse.

EXAMPLES OF DIVISIONS OF A SPEECH

EXAMPLES OF THE OPENING OF A SPEECH

IN OPPOSITION TO WRITS OF ASSISTANCE ¹

JAMES OTIS

May it please your honours, I was desired by one of the court to look into the books, and consider the question now before them concerning writs of assistance. I have, accordingly, considered it, and now appear not only in obedience to your order, but likewise in behalf of the inhabitants of this town, who have presented another petition, and out of regard to the liberties of the subject. And I take this opportunity to declare that, whether under a fee or not (for in such a cause as this I despise a fee), I will to my dying day oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villainy on the other, as this writ of assistance is.

¹ Delivered before the Superior Court in Boston in February, 1761, and is the earliest important word uttered in the dispute between the Colonies and Great Britain, which culminated in the Revolution. John Adams declared that in this oration "American independence was born."

It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English law book. I must, therefore, beg your honours' patience and attention to the whole range of argument that may, perhaps, appear uncommon in many things, as well as to points of learning that are more remote and unusual; that the whole tendency of my design may the more easily be perceived, the conclusions better descend, and the force of them be better felt.

I shall not think much of my pains in this cause, as I engaged in it from principle. I was solicited to argue this cause as advocate-general; and because I would not, I have been charged with desertion from my office. To this charge I can give a very sufficient answer. I renounced that office, and I argue this cause from the same principle; and I argue it with the greater pleasure, as it is in favor of British liberty, at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Britain, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of his crown; and as it is in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which, in former periods of history, cost one king of England his head and another his throne. I have taken more pains in this cause than I ever will take again, although my engaging in this and another popular cause has raised much resentment. But I think I can sincerely declare that I cheerfully submit myself to every odious name for conscience's sake; and from

my soul I despise all those whose guilt, malice, or folly has made them my foes. Let the consequences be what they will, I am determined to proceed. The only principles of public conduct that are worthy of a gentleman or a man are to sacrifice estate, ease, health, and applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of his country.

These manly sentiments, in private life, make the good citizen; in public life, the patriot and the hero. I do not say that when brought to the test, I shall be invincible. I pray God I may never be brought to the melancholy trial; but if ever I should, it will be then known how far I can reduce to practice principles which I know to be founded in truth. In the meantime I will proceed to the subject of this writ.

DANGERS OF A SALARIED BUREAUCRACY ¹

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

It is with reluctance that I rise to express a disapprobation of any one article of the plan for which we are so much obliged to the honourable gentlemen who laid it before us. From its first reading I have borne a good will to it, and, in general, wished it success. In this particular of salaries to the executive branch, I happen to differ; and, as my opinion may appear new and chimerical, it is only from a persuasion that it is right, and from a sense of duty, that I hazard it. The committee will judge of my

¹ Delivered in the Constitutional Convention, held in Philadelphia, 1787.

reasons when they have heard them, and their judgment may possibly change mine. I think I see inconveniences in the appointment of salaries; I see none in refusing them, but, on the contrary, great advantages.

NEW ENGLAND PURITAN AND SOUTHERN CAVALIER¹

WILLIAM GORDON MCCABE

Your president, in introducing me, has, with cruel facetiousness, spoken of me as one of the "heroes of the war." It is true that down in my own country you may hear people (utterly void of imagination, and envious, perhaps, of my "re-cord") shamelessly declare that the only people I've ever slain were some of my oldest friends, whom I've talked to death with stories that belong to the Pliocene period of anecdotal development or which, at the very latest, may have "cheered the Aryan hordes on their weary westward march from the tablelands of Asia," and that the only weapon of which I possess an easy and a *natural* mastery is that *osseous* one which Samson wielded with such deadly effect against the Philistines.

Never but once before, I confess, have I ever been remotely alluded to by my ungrateful countrymen as "a hero of the war." And that was years and years ago, when some of us here to-night looked at each other only along the deadly barrels of burnished steel,

¹ Extract from a speech delivered before the New England Society, New York, December 22, 1899.

and when my wildest dreams never pictured a time when I should gaze, as I am gazing to-night, full into New England eyes, brimming over with such kindness and gracious welcome as make even an "unrepentant rebel" feel thoroughly "at home."

EXAMPLES OF THE BODY OF A SPEECH

IMPRESSIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN ¹

JOSEPH H. CHOATE

It is now forty years since I first saw and heard Abraham Lincoln, but the impression which he left on my mind is ineffaceable. After his great successes in the West he came to New York to make a political address. He appeared in every sense of the word like one of the plain people among whom he loved to be counted. At first sight there was nothing impressive or imposing about him—except that his great stature singled him out from the crowd; his clothes hung awkwardly on his giant frame; his face was of a dark pallor, without the slightest tinge of colour; his seamed and rugged features bore the furrows of hardship and struggle; his deep-set eyes looked sad and anxious; his countenance in repose gave little evidence of that brain power which had raised him from the lowest to the highest station among his countrymen; as he talked to me before the meeting, he seemed ill at ease, with that sort of apprehension

¹ Extract from an address delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, November 13, 1900.

which a young man might feel before presenting himself to a new and strange audience, whose critical disposition he dreaded. It was a great audience, including all the noted men—all the learned and cultured—of his party in New York; editors, clergymen, statesmen, lawyers, merchants, critics. They were all very curious to hear him. His fame as a powerful speaker had preceded him, and exaggerated rumour of his wit—the worst forerunner of an orator—had reached the East. When Mr. Bryant presented him, on the high platform of the Cooper Institute, a vast sea of upturned faces greeted him, full of intense curiosity to see what this rude child of the people was like. He was equal to the occasion. When he spoke he was transformed; his eyes kindled, his voice rang, his face shone and seemed to light up the whole assembly. For an hour and a half he held his audience in the hollow of his hand. His style of speech and manner of delivery were severely simple. What Lowell called “the grand simplicities of the Bible,” with which he was so familiar, were reflected in his discourse. With no attempt at ornament or rhetoric, without parade or pretence, he spoke straight to the point. If any came expecting the turgid eloquence or the ribaldry of the frontier, they must have been startled at the earnest and sincere purity of his utterances. It was marvellous to see how this untutored man, by mere self-discipline and the chastening of his own spirit, had outgrown all meretricious arts, and found his own way to the grandeur and strength of absolute simplicity.

He spoke upon the theme which he had mastered so thoroughly. He demonstrated by copious historical proofs and masterly logic that the fathers who created the Constitution in order to form a more perfect union, to establish justice and to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, intended to empower the Federal Government to exclude slavery from the territories. In the kindest spirit, he protested against the avowed threat of the Southern States to destroy the Union if, in order to secure freedom in those vast regions, out of which future states were to be carved, a Republican President were elected. He closed with an appeal to his audience, spoken with all the fire of his aroused and kindling conscience, with a full out-pouring of his love of justice and liberty, to maintain their political purpose on that lofty and unassailable issue of right and wrong which alone could justify it, and not to be intimidated from their high resolve and sacred duty by any threats of destruction to the Government or of ruin to themselves. He concluded with this telling sentence, which drove the whole argument home to all our hearts: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." That night the great hall, and the next day the whole city, rang with delighted applause and congratulations, and he who had come as a stranger departed with the laurels of a great triumph.

ON THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL
CONSTITUTION ¹

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

In the commencement of a revolution which received its birth from the usurpations of tyranny, nothing was more natural than that the public mind should be influenced by an extreme spirit of jealousy. To resist these enroachments and to nourish this spirit was the great object of all our public and private institutions. The zeal for liberty became predominant and excessive. In forming our Confederation this passion alone seemed to actuate us, and we appear to have had no other view than to secure ourselves from despotism. The object certainly was a valuable one, and deserved our utmost attention. But, sir, there is another object equally important and which our enthusiasm rendered us little capable of regarding; I mean a principle of strength and stability in the organisation of our government, and vigour in its operations. This purpose can never be accomplished but by the establishment of some select body formed peculiarly upon this principle. There are few positions more demonstrable than that there should be in every republic some permanent body to correct the prejudices, check the intemperate passions, and regulate the fluctuations of a popular assembly. It is evident that a body instituted for these purposes must be so formed

¹ Delivered in the New York Convention, held to ratify the Constitution of the United States, on June 24, 1788.

as to exclude as much as possible from its own character those infirmities and that mutability which it is designed to remedy. It is therefore necessary that it should be small, that it should hold its authority during a considerable period, and that it should have such an independence in the exercise of its powers as will divest it as much as possible of local prejudices. It should be so formed as to be the centre of political knowledge, to pursue always a steady line of conduct, and to reduce every irregular propensity to system. Without this establishment we may make experiments without end, but shall never have an efficient government.

It is an unquestionable truth that the body of the people in every country desire sincerely its prosperity; but it is equally unquestionable that they do not possess the discernment and stability necessary for systematic government. To deny that they are frequently led into the grossest errors by misinformation and passion would be a flattery which their own good sense must despise. That branch of administration especially which involves our political relations with foreign States, a community will ever be incompetent to. These truths are not often held up in public assemblies, but they can not be unknown to any who hear me. From these principles it follows that there ought to be two distinct bodies in our government; one, which shall be immediately constituted by and peculiarly represent the people and possess all the popular features; another, formed upon the principles and for the purposes before explained. Such considerations as these induced the

Convention who formed your State Constitution to institute a Senate upon the present plan. The history of ancient and modern republics have taught them that many of the evils which these republics had suffered arose from the want of a certain balance and mutual control indispensable to a wise administration. They were convinced that popular assemblies are frequently misguided by ignorance, by sudden impulses, and the intrigues of ambitious men, and that some firm barrier against these operations was necessary; they therefore instituted your Senate, and the benefits we have experienced have fully justified their conceptions.

Gentlemen in their reasoning have placed the interests of the several States and those of the United States in contrast; this is not a fair view of the subject: they must necessarily be involved in each other. What we apprehend is that some sinister prejudice or some prevailing passion may assume the form of a genuine interest. The influence of these is as powerful as the most permanent conviction of the public good, and against this influence we ought to provide. The local interests of a State ought in every case to give way to the interests of the Union; for when a sacrifice of one or the other is necessary, the former becomes only an apparent, partial interest, and should yield on the principle that the small good ought never to oppose the great one. When you assemble from your several counties in the Legislature, were every member to be guided only by the apparent interests of his county, government would be impracticable. There must be a perpetual accom-

modation and sacrifice of local advantages to general expediency; but the spirit of a mere popular assembly would rarely be actuated by this important principle. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the Senate should be so formed as to be unbiassed by false conceptions of the real interests or undue attachment to the apparent good of their several States.

Gentlemen indulge too many unreasonable apprehensions of danger to the State governments; they seem to suppose that the moment you put men into a national council, they become corrupt and tyrannical and lose all their affections for their fellow citizens. But can we imagine that the senators will ever be so insensible of their own advantage as to sacrifice the genuine interest of their constituents? The State governments are essentially necessary to the form and spirit of the general system. As long, therefore, as Congress has a full conviction of this necessity, they must even upon principles purely national, have as firm an attachment to the one as to the other. This conviction can never leave them, unless they become madmen. While the Constitution continues to be read and its principle known the States must by every rational man be considered as essential, component parts of the Union; and therefore the idea of sacrificing the former to the latter is wholly inadmissible.

The objectors do not advert to the natural strength and resources of State governments, which will ever give them an important superiority over the general government. If we compare the nature of their different powers, or the means of popular influence

which each possesses, we shall find the advantage entirely on the side of the States. This consideration, important as it is, seems to have been little attended to. The aggregate number of representatives throughout the States may be two thousand. Their personal influence will, therefore, be proportionately more extensive than that of one or two hundred men in Congress. The State establishments of civil and military officers of every description, infinitely surpassing in number any possible correspondent establishments in the general government, will create such an extent and complication of attachments as will ever secure the predilection and support of the people. Whenever, therefore, Congress shall meditate any infringement of the State Constitutions, the great body of the people will naturally take part with their domestic representatives. Can the general government withstand such a united opposition? Will the people suffer themselves to be stripped of their privileges? Will they suffer their Legislatures to be reduced to a shadow and a name? The idea is shocking to common sense.

FOR THE RELIEF OF SLAVES ¹

WILLIAM PINKNEY

The report appears to me to have two objects in view: to annihilate the existing restraints on the voluntary emancipation of slaves, and to relieve a par-

¹ Delivered in favour of a committee report, favourable to the relief of slaves, in the Assembly of Maryland, in 1788.

ticular offspring from the punishment, heretofore inflicted on them, for the mere transgression of their parents. To the whole report, separately and collectively, my hearty assent, my cordial assistance, shall be given. It was the policy of this country, sir, from an early period of colonization, down to the Revolution, to encourage an importation of slaves for purposes which (if conjecture may be indulged) had been far better answered without their assistance. That this inhuman policy was a disgrace to the Colony, a dishonour to the Legislature, and a scandal to human nature, we need not at this enlightened period labour to prove.

The generous mind, that has adequate ideas of the inherent rights of mankind and knows the value of them, must feel its indignation rise against the shameful traffic that introduces slavery into a country which seems to have been designed by providence as an asylum for those whom the arm of power had persecuted and not as a nursery for wretches stripped of every privilege which heaven intended for its rational creatures, and reduced to a level with—nay, become themselves—the mere goods and chattels of their masters.

Sir, by the eternal principles of natural justice, no master in the State has a right to hold his slave in bondage for a single hour; but the law of the land, which (however oppressive and unjust, however inconsistent with the great groundwork of the late Revolution and our present frame of government) we cannot in prudence or from a regard to individual rights abolish, has authorised a slavery as bad or

perhaps worse than the most absolute, unconditional servitude that ever England knew in the early ages of its empire, under the tyrannical policy of the Danes, the feudal tenures of the Saxons, or the pure villeinage of the Normans.

But, Mr. Speaker, because a respect for the peace and safety of the community, and the already injured rights of individuals, forbids a compulsory liberation of these unfortunate creatures, shall we unnecessarily refine upon this gloomy system of bondage and prevent the owner of a slave from manumitting him at the only probable period when the warm feelings of benevolence and the gentle workings of commiseration dispose him to the generous deed?

Sir, I sincerely wish it were in my power to impart my feelings upon this subject to those who hear me; they would then acknowledge that while the owner was protected in the property of his slave he might at the same time be allowed to relinquish that property to the unhappy subject whenever he should be so inclined. They would then feel that denying this privilege was repugnant to every principle of humanity—an everlasting stigma on our government—an act of unequalled barbarity, without a colour of policy or a pretext of necessity to justify it.

Sir, let gentlemen put it home to themselves, that after providence has crowned our exertions in the cause of general freedom with success, and led us on to independence through a myriad of dangers and in defiance of obstacles crowding thick upon each other, we should not so soon forget the principles upon which we fled to arms and lose all sense of that inter-

position of heaven by which alone we could have been saved from the grasp of arbitrary power. We may talk of liberty in our public councils and fancy that we feel reverence for her dictates. We may declaim, with all the vehemence of animated rhetoric, against oppression, and flatter ourselves that we detest the ugly monster, but so long as we continue to cherish the poisonous weed of partial slavery among us the world will doubt our sincerity. In the name of heaven, with what face can we call ourselves the friends of equal freedom and the inherent rights of our species when we wantonly pass laws inimical to each; when we reject every opportunity of destroying, by silent, imperceptible degrees, the horrid fabric of individual bondage, reared by the mercenary hands of those from whom the sacred flame of liberty received no devotion?

Sir, it is pitiable to reflect to what wild inconsistencies, to what opposite extremes we are hurried by the frailty of our nature. Long have I been convinced that no generous sentiment of which the human heart is capable, no elevated passion of the soul that dignifies mankind, can obtain a uniform and perfect dominion: to-day we may be aroused as one man, by a wonderful and unaccountable sympathy against the lawless invader of the rights of his fellow creatures: to-morrow we may be guilty of the same oppression which we reprobated and resisted in another.

Is it, Mr. Speaker, because the complexion of these devoted victims is not quite so delicate as ours; is it because their untutored minds (humbled and debased by the hereditary yoke) appear less active and ca-

precious than our own; or is it because we have been so habituated to their situation as to become callous to the horrors of it that we are determined, whether politic or not, to keep them till time shall be no more on a level with the brutes? For "nothing," says Montesquieu, "so much assimilates a man to a brute as living among freemen, himself a slave." Call not Maryland a land of liberty; do not pretend that she has chosen this country as an asylum, that here she has erected her temple and consecrated her shrine, when here, also, her unhallowed enemy holds his hellish pandemonium and our rulers offer sacrifice at his polluted altar. The lily and the bramble may grow in social proximity, but liberty and slavery delight in separation.

Sir, let us figure to ourselves for a moment one of these unhappy victims, more informed than the rest, pleading at the bar of this House the cause of himself and his fellow sufferers; what would be the language of this orator of nature? Thus my imagination tells me he would address us:

"We belong by the policy of the country to our masters, and submit to our rigorous destiny; we do not ask you to divest them of their property, because we are conscious you have not the power; we do not entreat you to compel an emancipation of us or our posterity, because justice to your fellow citizens forbids it; we only supplicate you not to arrest the gentle arm of humanity when it may be stretched forth in our behalf; nor to wage hostilities against that moral or religious conviction which may at any time incline our masters to give freedom to us or our un-

offending offspring; not to interpose legislative obstacles to the course of voluntary manumission.

“Thus shall you neither violate the rights of your people nor endanger the quiet of the community, while you vindicate your public councils from the imputation of cruelty and the stigma of causeless, unprovoked oppression. We have never,” would he argue, “rebelled against our masters; we have never thrown your government into a ferment by struggles to regain the independence of our fathers. We have yielded our necks submissive to the yoke, and without a murmur acquiesced in the privation of our native rights. We conjure you, then, in the name of the common Parent of mankind, reward us not for this long and patient acquiescence by shutting up the main avenues to our liberation, by withholding from us the poor privilege of benefiting by the kind indulgence, the generous intentions of our superiors.”

What could we answer to arguments like these? Silent and peremptory, we might reject the application, but no words could justify the deed.

In vain should we resort to apologies grounded on the fallacious suggestions of a cautious and timid policy. I would as soon believe the incoherent tale of a schoolboy who should tell me he had been frightened by a ghost as that the grant of this permission ought in any degree to alarm us. Are we apprehensive that these men will become more dangerous by becoming free? Are we alarmed lest, by being admitted to the enjoyment of civil rights, they will be inspired with a deadly enmity against the rights of others? Strange, unaccountable paradox! How much more

rational would it be to argue that the natural enemy of the privileges of freemen is he who is robbed of them himself! In him the foul demon of jealousy converts the sense of his own debasement into a rancorous hatred for the more auspicious fate of others; while from him whom you have raised from the degrading situation of a slave, whom you have restored to that rank in the order of the universe which the malignancy of his fortune prevented him from attaining before, from such a man (unless his soul be ten thousand times blacker than his complexion) you may reasonably hope for all the happy effects of the warmest gratitude and love.

EXAMPLES OF THE CONCLUSION OF A SPEECH

THE SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS ¹

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right,—let us strive on to finish the work we are in: to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

¹ Delivered at Washington, D. C., March 4, 1865.

NAPOLEON AND LAFAYETTE ¹

SARGENT S. PRENTISS

Here we can not but pause to contemplate two wonderful men, belonging to the same age and to the same nation: Napoleon and Lafayette. Their names excite no kindred emotions; their fates no kindred sympathies. Napoleon—the child of Destiny—the thunderbolt of war—the victor in a hundred battles—the dispenser of thrones and dominions; he who scaled the Alps and reclined beneath the Pyramids, whose word was fate and whose wish was law. Lafayette—the volunteer of Freedom—the advocate of human rights—the defender of civil liberty—the patriot and the philanthropist—the beloved of the good and the free. Napoleon—the vanquished warrior, ignobly flying from the field of Waterloo, the wild beast, ravaging all Europe in his wrath, hunted down by the banded and affrighted nations and caged far away upon an ocean-girded rock. Lafayette—a watchword by which men excite each other to deeds of worth and noble daring; whose home has become the mecca of freedom, toward which the pilgrims of Liberty turn their eyes from every quarter of the globe. Napoleon was the red and fiery comet, shooting wildly through the realms of space and scattering pestilence and terror among the nations. Lafayette was the pure and brilliant planet, beneath whose grateful beams the mariner directs his bark and the

¹ Extract from a speech delivered at Jackson, Miss., in August, 1835.

shepherd tends his flocks. Napoleon died and a few old warriors—the scattered relics of Marengo and of Austerlitz—bemoaned their chief. Lafayette is dead and the tears of a civilised world attest how deep is the mourning for his loss. Such is, and always will be, the difference of feeling toward a benefactor and a conqueror of the human race.

SUMNER AND THE SOUTH ¹

L. Q. C. LAMAR

Charles Sumner in life believed that all occasion for strife and distrust between the North and South had passed away, and there no longer remained any cause for continued estrangement between those two sections of our common country. Are there not many of us who believe the same thing? Is not that the common sentiment, or if not, ought it not to be, of the great mass of our people, North and South? Bound to each other by a common constitution, destined to live together under a common government, forming unitedly but a single member of the great family of nations, shall we not now at last endeavour to grow toward each other once more in heart, as we are indissolubly linked to each other in fortunes? Shall we not, while honouring the memory of this great champion of liberty, this feeling sympathiser with human sorrow, this earnest pleader for the exercise of human tenderness and heavenly charity, lay aside

¹ From a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on April 28, 1874.

the concealments which serve only to perpetuate misunderstandings and distrust, and frankly confess that on both sides we most earnestly desire to be one—one not merely in political organisation; one not merely in community of language, and literature, and traditions, and country; but more and better than all that, one also in feeling and in heart?

Am I mistaken in this? Do the concealments of which I speak still cover animosities, which neither time nor reflection nor the march of events have yet sufficed to subdue? I cannot believe it. Since I have been here, I have scrutinised your sentiments, as expressed not merely in public debate, but in the abandon of personal confidence. I know well the sentiments of these my Southern friends, whose hearts are so infolded that the feeling of each is the feeling of all; and I see on both sides only the seeming of a constraint which each apparently hesitates to dismiss.

The South—prostrate, exhausted, drained of her life-blood as well as her material resources, yet still honourable and true—accepts the bitter award of the bloody arbitrament without reservation, resolutely determined to abide the result with chivalrous fidelity. Yet, as if struck dumb by the magnitude of her reverses, she suffers on in silence. The North, exultant in her triumph and elevated by success, still cherishes, as we are assured, a heart full of magnanimous emotions toward her disarmed and discomfited antagonist; and yet, as if under some mysterious spell, her words and acts are words and acts of suspicion and distrust. Would that the spirit of the illustrious dead, whom we lament to-day, could speak from the

grave to both parties to this deplorable discord, in tones which would reach each and every heart throughout this broad territory: My countrymen! know one another and you will love one another.

EXAMPLES OF COMPLETE SPEECHES

PHILOSOPHIC

THE PEOPLE IN ART, GOVERNMENT, AND RELIGION¹

GEORGE BANCROFT

The material world does not change in its masses or in its powers. The stars shine with no more lustre than when they first sang together in the glory of their birth. The flowers that gemmed the fields and the forests before America was discovered, now bloom around us in their season. The sun that shone on Homer shines on us in unchanging lustre; the bow that beamed on the patriarch still glitters in the clouds. Nature is the same. For her no new faces are generated, no new capacities are discovered. The earth turns on its axis and perfects its revolutions, and renews its seasons without increase or advancement.

But a like passive destiny does not attach to the in-

¹ Delivered before the Adelphi Society of Williams College, in August, 1835. The address is somewhat abridged, but as here given it is a complete speech, containing an opening, a body and a conclusion.

habitants of the earth. For them expectations of social improvement are no delusion; the hopes of philanthropy are more than a dream. The five senses do not constitute the whole inventory of our source of knowledge. They are the organs by which thought connects itself with the external universe; but the power of thought is not merged in the exercise of its instruments. We have functions which connect us with heaven, as well as organs which set us in relation with earth. We have not merely the senses to open to us the external world, but an internal sense, which places us in connection with the world of intelligence and the decrees of God. There is a spirit in man—not in the privileged few, not in those of us only who, by the favor of providence, have been nursed in public schools; it is in the man: it is the attribute of the race. The spirit, which is the guide to truth, is the gracious gift to each member of the human family.

You cannot discover a tribe of men, but also find the charities of life, and the proofs of spiritual existence. Behold the ignorant Algonquin deposit a bow and quiver by the side of the departed warrior, and recognise his faith in immortality. See the Comanche chieftain, in the heart of our continent, inflict upon himself the severest penance, and reverence his confession of the needed atonement for sin. The barbarian who roams o'er the Western prairies has like passions and like endowments with ourselves. He bears with him the instinct of Deity, the consciousness of spritual nature, the love of beauty, the rule of morality.

If reason is a universal faculty, universal decision is the nearest criterion of truth. The common mind winnows opinions; it is the sieve which separates error from certainty. The exercise by many of the same faculty on the same subject would naturally lead to the same conclusions. But if not, the very differences of opinion that arise prove the supreme judgment of the general mind. Truth is one. It never contradicts itself. One truth cannot contradict another truth. Hence truth is the bond of union. But error not only contradicts truth but may contradict itself; so that there may be many errors and each at variance with the rest. Truth is therefore of necessity an element of harmony; error as necessarily an element of discord. Thus there can be no continuing universal judgment but a right one. Men cannot agree in an absurdity; neither can they agree in a falsehood.

The little story of Paul and Virginia is an universal favourite. When it was first written the author read it aloud to a circle in Paris, composed of the wife of the prime minister and the choicest critics of France. They condemned it as dull and insipid. The author appealed to the public, and the children of all Europe reversed the decree of the Parisians. The judgment of children—that is, the judgment of the common mind under its most innocent and least imposing form—was more trustworthy than the criticism of the select refinement of the most polished city in the world.

Demosthenes of old formed himself to the perfection of eloquence by means of addresses to the crowd.

The great comic poet of Greece, emphatically the poet of the vulgar mob, is distinguished above all others for the incomparable graces of his diction; and it is related of one of the most skilful writers in the Italian that when inquired of where he had learned the purity and nationality of his style, he replied, from listening to country people as they brought their produce to market.

In like manner the best government rests on the people and not on the few, on persons and not on property, on the free development of public opinion and not on authority; because the munificent Author of our being has conferred the gifts of mind upon every member of the human race without distinction of outward circumstances. Whatever of other possessions may be engrossed, the mind asserts its own independence. Lands, estates, the produce of mines, the prolific abundance of the seas, may be usurped by a privileged class. Avarice, assuming the form of ambitious power, may grasp realm after realm, subdue continents, compass the earth in its schemes of aggrandisement, and sigh after worlds, but mind eludes the power of appropriation; it exists only in its own individuality; it is a property which cannot be confiscated and cannot be torn away. It laughs at chance; it bursts from imprisonment; it defies monopoly. A government of equal rights must, therefore, rest upon mind, not wealth, not brute force; some of the moral intelligence of the community should rule the State. Prescription can no more assume to be a valid plea for political injustice; society studies to eradicate established abuses and to bring

social institutions and laws into harmony with moral right; not dismayed by the natural and necessary imperfections of all human effort, and not giving way to despair because every hope does not at once ripen into fruit.

The public happiness is the true object of legislation and can be secured only by the masses of mankind, themselves awakened to a knowledge and care of their own interests. Our free institutions have reversed the false and ignoble distinctions between men, and, refusing to gratify the pride of caste, have acknowledged the common mind to be the true material for a commonwealth. Everything has hitherto been done for the happy few. It is not possible to endow an aristocracy with greater benefits than they have already enjoyed; there is no room to hope that individuals will be more highly gifted or more fully developed than the greatest sages of past times. The world can advance only through the culture of the moral and intellectual powers of the people. To accomplish this end by means of the people themselves is the highest purpose of government. If it be the duty of the individual to strive after a perfection like the perfection of God, how much more ought a nation to be the image of beauty. The common mind is the true Parian marble fit to be wrought into the likeness to a God. The duty of America is to secure the culture and the happiness of the masses by their reliance on themselves.

It is not by vast armies, by immense natural resources, by accumulations of treasure, that the greatest results in modern civilisation have been accom-

plished. The traces of the career of conquest pass away, hardly leaving a scar on the national intelligence. Famous battle-grounds of victory are most of them comparatively indifferent to the human race—barren fields of blood, the scourges of their times, but affecting the social condition as little as the raging of a pestilence. Not one benevolent institution, not one ameliorating principle in the Roman State was a voluntary concession of the aristocracy; each useful element was borrowed from the democracies of Greece or was a reluctant concession to the demands of the people. The same is true in modern political life. It is the confession of an enemy to democracy that “all the great and noble institutions of the world have come from popular efforts.”

It is the uniform tendency of the popular element to elevate and bless humanity. The exact measure of the progress of civilisation is the degree in which the intelligence of the common mind has prevailed over wealth and brute force; in other words, the measure of the progress of civilisation is the progress of the people. Every great object connected with the benevolent exertions of the day has reference to the culture of those powers which are alone the common inheritance. For this the envoys of a religion cross seas and visit remotest isles; for this the Press in its freedom teems with the productions of maturest thought; for this philanthropists plan new schemes of education; for this halls in every city and village are open to the public instructor.

It is alone by infusing great principles into the common mind that revolutions in human society are

brought about. They never have been, they never can be effected by superior individual excellence. The age of the Antonines is the age of the greatest glory of the Roman Empire. Men distinguished by every accomplishment of culture and science for a century in succession possessed undisputed sway over more than one hundred millions of men, until, at last, in the person of Marcus Aurelius, philosophy herself seemed to mount the throne. And did she stay the downward tendencies of the Roman Empire? Did she infuse new elements of life into the decaying constitution? Did she commence one great beneficent reform? Not one permanent amelioration was effected. Philosophy was clothed with absolute power; and yet absolute power accomplished nothing for humanity. It could accomplish nothing. Had it been possible, Aurelius would have wrought a change. Society can be regenerated, the human race can be advanced, only by moral principles diffused through the multitude.

And now let us take an opposite instance; let us see if amelioration follows when, in despite of tyranny, truth finds access to the common people. Christianity itself shall furnish me the example.

So completely was this greatest of all reforms carried forward in the vale of life, that the great moral revolution, the great step of God's providence in the education of the human race, was not observed by the Roman historians. Once, indeed, at this early period, the Christians are mentioned; for, in the reign of Nero, their purity being hateful to the corrupt, Nero abandoned them to persecution. In the darkness

of midnight they were covered with pitch and set on fire to light the streets of Rome, and this singularity has been recorded. But their system of morals and religion, though it was the new birth of the world, escaped all notice.

Paul, who was a Roman citizen, was beheaded just outside the walls of the eternal city; and Peter, who was a plebeian and could not claim the distinction of the axe and block, was executed on the cross, with his head downward to increase the pain of the indignity. Do you think the Roman emperor took notice of the names of these men when he signed their death-warrants? And yet, as they poured truth into the common mind, what series of kings, what lines of emperors, can compare with them in their influence on the destinies of mankind?

The irresistible tendency of the human race is therefore to advancement, for absolute power has never succeeded and can never succeed in suppressing a single truth. An idea once revealed may find its admission into every living breast and live there. Like God, it becomes immortal and omnipresent. The movement of the species is upward, irresistibly upward. The individual is often lost; providence never disowns the race. No principle once promulgated has ever been forgotten. No "timely tramp" of a despot's foot ever trod out one idea. The world cannot retrograde; the dark ages cannot return. Dynasties perish, seeds are buried, nations have been victims to error, martyrs for right; humanity has always been on the advance, gaining maturity, universality, and power.

No truth can perish, no truth can pass away; the flame is undying, though generations disappear. Wherever moral truth has struck into being, humanity claims and guards the greatest bequest. Each generation gathers together imperishable children of the past, and increases them by new sons of light alike radiant with immortality.

DEMONSTRATIVE

SPEECH NOMINATING SHERMAN FOR PRESIDENT ¹

JAMES A. GARFIELD

I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this Convention with deep solicitude. Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of honour to a great and noble character; but as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths.

¹ Delivered in the Republican National Convention at Chicago, June 5, 1880.

Gentlemen of the Convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When your enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find below the storm and passion that calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which final action will be determined.

Not here, in this brilliant circle, where fifteen thousand men and women are gathered, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed for the next four years. Not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of seven hundred and fifty-six delegates, waiting to cast their lots into the urn and determine the choice of the Republic, but by four millions of Republican fire-sides, where the thoughtful voters, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and reverence for the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by, burning in their hearts,—there God prepares the verdict which will determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but at the ballot-boxes of the Republic, in the quiet of November, after the silence of deliberate judgment, will this question be settled. And now, gentlemen of the Convention, what do we want? ¹

Bear with me a moment. “Here me for my cause,” and for a moment “be silent that you may hear.”

Twenty-five years ago this Republic was bearing

¹ At this point a voice called out: “We want Garfield.”

and wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with traffic in the bodies and souls of men had paralysed the consciences of a majority of our people; the narrowing and disintegrating doctrine of State sovereignty had shackled and weakened the noblest and most beneficent powers of the national government; and the grasping power of slavery was seizing upon the virgin territories of the West, and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage.

At that crisis the Republican party was born. It drew its first inspiration from that fire of liberty which God has lighted in every human heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and to save. It entered the arena where the beleaguered and assailed Territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free for ever. Strengthened by its victory on the frontier, the young party, under the leadership of that great man who on this spot,¹ twenty years ago, was made its chief, entered the national Capitol, and assumed the high duties of government. The light which shone from its banner illumined its pathway to power. Every slave-pen and the shackles of every slave within the shadow of the Capitol were consumed in the re-kindled fire of freedom.

Our great national industries by cruel and calculating neglect had been prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the

¹ Lincoln was nominated for president in Chicago.

treasury itself was well-nigh empty. The money of the people consisted mainly of the wretched notes of two thousand uncontrolled and irresponsible State banking corporations, which were filling the country with a circulation that poisoned, rather than sustained, the life of business.

The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the Babel of confusion, and gave to the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people. It threw its protecting arm around our great industries, and they stood erect with new life. It filled with the spirit of true nationality all the great functions of the government. It confronted a rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of liberty until the victory was won.

Then, after the storms of battle, were heard the calm words of peace spoken by the conquering nation, saying to the foe that lay prostrate at its feet: "This is our only revenge—that you join us in lifting into the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine like stars for ever and ever, the immortal principles of truth and justice: that all men, white or black, shall be free, and shall stand equal before the law."

Then came the questions of reconstruction, the national debt, and the keeping of the public faith. In the settlement of these questions, the Republican party has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of beauty and of victory. How shall we accomplish this great work? We cannot do it,

my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that I should say one word, or cast one shadow, upon any name on the roll of our heroes. The coming fight is our Thermopylæ. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united, we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us. Let us hold our ground this one year, and then "the stars in their courses" will fight for us. The census will bring reinforcements and continued power.

But in order to win victory now, we want the vote of every Republican—of every Grant Republican, and anti-Grant Republican, in America—of every Blaine man and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed to make success certain. Therefore I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to take calm counsel together, and inquire what we shall do.

We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, traces the victorious footsteps of our party in the past, and, carrying in his heart the memory of its glorious deeds, looks forward prepared to meet the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness toward those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive-branch of peace, and invites them to renewed brotherhood on this supreme condition—that it shall be admitted for ever that in the war for the Union we were right and they were wrong. On that supreme condition we meet them

as brethren, and ask them to share with us the blessings and honours of this great Republic.

Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration,—the name of one who was the comrade, associate, and friend of nearly all the noble dead, whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night; ¹ a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago,—who courageously confronted the slave power in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when first began to fall the red drops of that bloody shower which finally swelled into the deluge of gore in the late Rebellion. He bravely stood by young Kansas, and, returning to his seat in the national Legislature, his pathway through all the subsequent years has been marked by labours worthily performed in every department of legislation.

You ask for his monument. I point you to twenty-five years of national statutes. Not one great, beneficent law has been placed on our statute-books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided in formulating the laws to raise the great armies and navies which carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back “the unity and married calm of States.” His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in all the still greater work that redeemed the promises of the government and made the currency equal to gold.

¹ A reference to the portraits of Lincoln, Sumner, Wade, Chandler and others, which were hanging in the Convention hall.

When at last he passed from the halls of legislation into a high executive office, he displayed that experience, intelligence, firmness, and poise of character, which have carried us through a stormy period of three years, with one-half the public Press crying "Crucify him!" and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent success. In all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him. The great fiscal affairs of the nation, and the vast business interests of the country, he guarded and preserved while executing the law of resumption, and effected its object without a jar and against the false prophecies of one-half of the Press and of all the Democratic party.

He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the government. For twenty-five years he has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of "that fierce light that beats against the throne"; but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armour, no stain upon his shield. I do not present him as a better Republican or a better man than thousands of others that we honour; but I present him for your deliberate and favourable consideration.

I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio.

FORENSIC

THE CASE OF ALLAN EVANS¹

LORD MANSFIELD

My Lords: As I made the motion for taking the opinion of the learned judges, and proposed the question your Lordships have been pleased to put to them, it may be expected that I should make some farther motion, in consequence of the opinions they have delivered.

In moving for the opinion of the judges, I had two views. The first was, that the House might have the benefit of their assistance in forming a right judgment in this cause now before us, upon this writ of error. The next was, that the question being fully discussed, the grounds of our judgment, together with their exceptions, limitations, and restrictions, might be clearly and certainly known, as a rule to be followed hereafter in all future cases of the like nature; and this determined me as to the wording of the question, "How far the defendant might, in the present case, be allowed to plead his disability in bar of the action brought against him?"

The question thus worded shows the point upon which your Lordships thought this case turned; and the answer necessarily fixes a criterion, under what circumstances, and by what persons, such a disability may be pleaded as an exemption from the penalty

¹ Delivered in the House of Lords of Great Britain, February 4, 1767.

infiicted by this by-law, upon those who decline taking upon them the office of sheriff.

In every view in which I have been able to consider this matter, I think this action cannot be supported.

I. If they rely on the Corporation Act; by the literal and express provision of that act, no person can be elected who hath not within a year taken the sacrament in the Church of England. The defendant hath not taken the sacrament within a year; he is not, therefore, elected. Here they fail.

If they ground it on the general design of the Legislature in passing the Corporation Act; the design was to exclude Dissenters from office, and disable them from serving. For, in those times, when a spirit of intolerance prevailed, and severe measures were pursued, the Dissenters were reputed and treated as persons ill-affected and dangerous to the government. The defendant, therefore, a Dissenter, and in the eye of this law a person dangerous and ill-affected, is excluded from office, and disabled from serving. Here they fail.

If they ground the action on their own by-law; that by-law was professedly made to procure fit and able persons to serve the office, and the defendant is not fit and able, being expressly disabled by statute law. Here, too, they fail.

If they ground it on his disability's being owing to a neglect of taking the sacrament at church, when he ought to have done it, the Toleration Act having freed the Dissenters from all obligations to take the sacrament at church, the defendant is guilty of no

neglect—no *criminal* neglect. Here, therefore, they fail.

These points, my Lords, will appear clear and plain.

II. The Corporation Act, pleaded by the defendant as rendering him ineligible to this office, and incapable of taking it upon him, was most certainly intended by the Legislature to *prohibit* the persons therein described being elected to any corporation offices, and to disable them from taking such offices upon them. The act had two parts, first, it appointed a commission for turning out all that were at that time in office, who would not comply with what was required as the condition of their continuance therein, and even gave a power to turn them out, though they should comply; and then it farther enacted, that, from the termination of that commission, no person hereafter, who had not taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England within one year preceding the time of such election, should be placed, chosen, or elected into any office of, or belonging to, the government of any corporation; and this was done, as it was expressly declared in the preamble to the act, in order to perpetuate the succession in corporations in the hands of persons well-affected to government in church and state.

It was not their design (as hath been said) “to *bring* such persons into corporations by inducing them to take the sacrament in the Church of England”; the Legislature did not mean to tempt persons who were ill-affected to the government occasionally to conform. It was not, I say, their design

to bring them in. They could not trust them, lest they should use the power of their offices to distress and annoy the state. And the reason is alleged in the act itself. It was because there were "evil spirits" among them; and they were afraid of evil spirits, and determined to keep them out. They therefore put it out of the power of electors to choose such persons, and out of their power to serve; and accordingly prescribed a mark or character, laid down a description whereby they should be known and distinguished by their conduct previous to such an election. Instead of appointing a condition of their serving the office, resulting from their future conduct, or some consequent action to be performed by them, they declared such persons incapable of being chosen as had not taken the sacrament in the Church within a year before such election; and, without this mark of their affection to the Church, they could not be in office, and there could be no election. But as the law *then* stood, no man could have pleaded this disability, resulting from the Corporation Act, in bar of such an action as is now brought against the defendant, because this disability was owing to what was then, in the eye of the law, a crime, every man being required by the canon law (received and confirmed by the statute law) to take the sacrament in the Church at least once a year. The law would not then permit a man to say that he had not taken the sacrament in the Church of England; and he could not be allowed to plead it in bar of any action brought against him.

III. But the case is quite altered since the Act

of Toleration. It is now no crime for a man, who is within the description of that act, to say he is a Dissenter; nor is it any crime for him not to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England; nay, the crime is, if he does it contrary to the dictates of his conscience.

If it is a crime not to take the sacrament at church, it must be a crime by some *law*; which must be either common or statute law, the canon law enforcing it being dependent wholly upon the statute law. Now the statute law is repealed as to persons capable of pleading (under the Toleration Act) that they are so and so qualified; and therefore the canon law is repealed with regard to those persons.

If it is a crime by common law, it must be so either by usage or principle. But there is no usage or custom, independent of positive law, which makes non-conformity a crime. The eternal principles of natural religion are part of the common law. The essential principles of revealed religion are part of the common law; so that any person reviling, subverting, or ridiculing them, may be prosecuted at common law. But it cannot be shown, from the principles of natural or revealed religion, that, independent of positive law, temporal punishments ought to be inflicted for mere opinions with respect to particular modes of worship.

Persecution for a sincere though erroneous conscience is not to be deducted from reason or the fitness of things. It can only stand upon positive law.

IV. It has been said (1) That “the Toleration Act only amounts to an exemption of the Protestant

Dissenters from the *penalties* of certain laws therein particularly mentioned, and to nothing more; that if it had been intended to bear, and to have any operation upon the Corporation Act, the Corporation Act ought to have been mentioned therein; and there ought to have been some enacting clause, exempting Dissenters from prosecution in consequence of this act, and enabling them to plead their not having received the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England in bar of such action." But this is much too limited and narrow a conception of the Toleration Act, which amounts consequentially to a great deal more than this; and it hath consequentially an inference and operation upon the Corporation Act in particular. The Toleration Act renders *that which was illegal before, now legal*. The Dissenters' way of worship is permitted and allowed by this act. It is not only exempted from punishment, but rendered innocent and lawful. It is established; it is put under the protection, and is not merely under the connivance of the law. In case those who are appointed by law to register dissenting places of worship refuse on any pretence to do it, we must, upon application, send a mandamus to compel them.

Now there cannot be a plainer position than that the law protects nothing in that very respect in which it is (in the eye of the law) at the same time a crime. Dissenters, within the description of the Toleration Act, are restored to a legal consideration and capacity; and a hundred consequences will from thence follow, which are not mentioned in the act. For in-

stance, previous to the Toleration Act, it was unlawful to devise any legacy for the support of dissenting congregations, or for the benefit of dissenting ministers; for the law knew no such assemblies, and no such persons; and such a devise was absolutely void, being left to what the law called superstitious purposes. But will it be said in any court in England that such a devise is not a good and valid one now? And yet there is nothing said of this in the Toleration Act. By this act the Dissenters are freed, not only from the pains and penalties of the laws therein particularly specified, but from all ecclesiastical censures and from all penalty and punishment whatsoever, on account of their nonconformity, which is allowed and protected by this act, and is, therefore, in the eye of the law, no longer a crime. Now, if the defendant may say he is a Dissenter; if the law doth not stop his mouth; if he may declare that he hath not taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, without being considered a criminal; if, I say, his mouth is not stopped by the law, he may then plead his not having taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, in bar of this action. It is such a disability as doth not leave him liable to any action, or to any penalty whatsoever.

(2) It is indeed said to be “a maxim in law, that a man shall not be allowed to disable himself.” But, when this maxim is applied to the present case, it is laid down in too large a sense. When it is extended to comprehend a legal disability, it is taken in too great a latitude. What! Shall not a man be allowed

to plead that he is not fit and able? These words are inserted in the by-law, as the ground of making it; and in the plaintiff's declaration, as the ground of his action against the defendant. It is alleged that the defendant was fit and able, and that he refused to serve, not having a reasonable excuse. It is certain, and it is hereby in effect admitted, that if he was not fit and able, and that if he hath a reasonable excuse, he may plead it in bar of this action. Surely he might plead that he was not worth fifteen thousand pounds, provided that was really the case, as a circumstance that would render him not fit and able. And if the law allows him to say that he hath not taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, being within the description of the Toleration Act, he may plead *that* likewise to show that he is not fit and able. It is a reasonable, it is a lawful excuse.

My Lords, the meaning of this maxim, "that a man shall not disable himself," is solely this: that a man shall not disable himself by his own wilful crime; and such a disability the law will not allow him to plead. If a man contracts to sell an estate to any person upon certain terms at such a time, and in the meantime he sells it to another, he shall not be allowed to say, "Sir, I cannot fulfil my contract; it is out of my power; I have sold my estate to another." Such a plea would be no bar to an action, because the act of his selling it to another is the very breach of contract. So, likewise, a man who hath promised marriage to one lady, and afterward marries another, cannot plead in bar of a prosecution from the

first lady that he is already married, because his marrying the second lady is the very breach of promise to the first. A man shall not be allowed to plead that he was drunk in bar of a criminal prosecution, though perhaps he was at the time as incapable of the exercise of reason as if he had been insane, because his drunkenness was itself a crime. He shall not be allowed to excuse one crime by another. The Roman soldier, who cut off his thumbs, was not suffered to plead his disability for the service to procure his dismissal with impunity, because his incapacity was designedly brought on him by his own wilful fault. And I am glad to observe so good an agreement among the judges upon this point, who have stated it with great precision and clearness.

When it was said, therefore, that “a man cannot plead his crime in excuse for not doing what he is by law required to do,” it only amounts to this, that he cannot plead in excuse what, when pleaded, is no excuse; but there is not in this the shadow of an objection to his pleading what is an excuse—pleading a legal disqualification. If he is nominated to be a justice of the peace, he may say, “I cannot be a justice of the peace, for I have not a hundred pounds a year.” In like manner, a Dissenter may plead, “I have not qualified, and I cannot qualify, and am not obliged to qualify; and you have no right to fine me for not serving.”

(3) It hath been said that “the King hath a right to the service of all his subjects.” And this assertion is very true, provided it be properly qualified. But surely, against the operation of this general right

in particular cases, a man may plead a natural or civil disability. May not a man plead that he was upon the high seas? May not idiocy or lunacy be pleaded, which are natural disabilities; or a judgment of a court of law, and much more a judgment of parliament, which are civil disabilities?

(4) It hath been said to be a maxim "that no man can plead his being a lunatic to avoid a deed executed, or excuse an act done, at that time, because, it is said, "if he was a lunatic, he could not remember any action he did during the period of his insanity"; and this was doctrine formerly laid down by some judges. But I am glad to find that of late it hath been generally exploded. For the reason assigned for it is, in my opinion, wholly insufficient to support it; because, though he could not remember what passed during his insanity, yet he might justly say, if he ever executed such a deed, or did such an action, it *must* have been during his confinement or lunacy, for he did not do it either before or since that time.

As to the case in which a man's plea of insanity was actually set aside, it was nothing more than this: it was when they pleaded *ore tenus* (or verbally); the man pleaded that he was at the time out of his senses. It was replied, How do you know that you were out of your senses? No man that is so, knows himself to be so. And accordingly his plea was, upon this quibble, set aside; not because it was not a valid one, if he *was* out of his senses, but because they concluded he was not out of his senses. If he had alleged that he was at that time confined,

being apprehended to be out of his senses, no advantage could have been taken of his manner of expressing himself, and his plea must have been allowed to be good.

(5) As to Larwood's case, he was not allowed the benefit of the Toleration Act, because he did not plead it. If he had insisted on his right to the benefit of it in his plea, the judgment must have been different. His inserting it in his *replication* was not allowed, not because it was not an allegation that would have excused him if it had been originally taken notice of in his plea, but because its being not mentioned till afterward was a departure from his plea.

In the case of the Mayor of Guilford, the Toleration Act was pleaded. The plea was allowed good, the disability being esteemed a lawful one; and the judgment was right.

And here the defendant hath likewise insisted on his right to the benefit of the Toleration Act. In his plea he saith he is *bona fide* a Dissenter, within the description of the Toleration Act; that he hath taken the oaths, and subscribed the declaration required by that act, to show that he is not a popish recusant; that he hath never received the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and that he cannot in conscience do it; and that for more than fifty years past he hath not been present at church at the celebration of the established worship, but hath constantly received the sacrament and attended divine service among the Protestant Dissenters. These facts are not denied by the plaintiff,

though they might easily have been traversed; and it was incumbent upon them to have done it, if they had not known they should certainly fail in it. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the defendant is a Dissenter—an honest, conscientious Dissenter; and no conscientious Dissenter can take the sacrament at church. The defendant saith he cannot do it, and he is not obliged to do it. And as this is the case, as the law allows him to say this, as it hath not stopped his mouth, the plea which he makes is a lawful plea, his disability being through no crime or fault of his own. I say, he is disabled by act of Parliament, without the concurrence or intervention of any fault or crime of his own; and, therefore, he may plead this disability in bar of the present action.

(6) The case of “atheists and infidels” is out of the present question; they come not within the description of the Toleration Act. And this is the sole point to be inquired into in all cases of the like nature with that of the defendant, who here pleads the Toleration Act. Is the man *bona fide* a Dissenter within the description of that act? If not, he cannot plead his disability in consequence of his not having taken the sacrament in the Church of England. If he is, he may lawfully and with effect plead it in bar of such an action; and the question on which this distinction is grounded must be tried by a jury.

(7) It hath been said that “this being a matter between God and a man’s own conscience, it cannot come under the cognisance of a jury.” But certainly it may; and, though God alone is the absolute judge of a man’s religious profession and of his con-

science, yet there are some marks even of sincerity, among which there is none more certain than *consistency*. Surely a man's sincerity may be judged of by overt acts. It is a just and excellent maxim, which will hold good in this, as in all other cases, "by their fruits ye shall know them." Do they, I do not say go to meeting now and then, but do they frequent the meeting-house? Do they join generally and steadily in divine worship with dissenting congregations? Whether they do or not, may be ascertained by their neighbours, and by those who frequent the same places of worship. In case a man hath occasionally conformed for the sake of places of trust and profit; in that case, I imagine, a jury would not hesitate in their verdict. If a man then alleges he is a Dissenter, and claims the protection and the advantages of the Toleration Act, a jury may justly find that he is not a Dissenter within the description of the Toleration Act, so far as to render his disability a lawful one. If he takes the sacrament for his interest, the jury may fairly conclude that this scruple of conscience is a false pretence when set up to avoid a burden.

The defendant in the present case pleads that he is a Dissenter within the description of the Toleration Act; that he hath not taken the sacrament in the Church of England within one year preceding the time of his supposed election, nor ever in his whole life; and that he cannot in conscience do it.

Conscience is not controllable by human laws, nor amenable to human tribunals. Persecution, or attempts to force conscience, will never produce con-

viction, and are only calculated to make hypocrites or martyrs.

V. My Lords, there never was a single instance, from the Saxon times down to our own, in which a man was ever punished for erroneous opinions concerning rites or modes of worship, but upon some positive law. The common law of England, which is only common reason or usage, knows of no prosecution for mere opinions. For atheism, blasphemy, and reviling the Christian religion, there have been instances of persons prosecuted and punished upon the common law. But bare nonconformity is no sin by the common law; and all positive laws inflicting any pains or penalties for nonconformity to the established rites and modes, are repealed by the Act of Toleration, and Dissenters are thereby exempted from all ecclesiastical censures.

What bloodshed and confusion have been occasioned, from the reign of Henry the Fourth, when the first penal statutes were enacted, down to the revolution in this kingdom, by laws made to force conscience! There is nothing, certainly, more unreasonable, more inconsistent with the rights of human nature, more contrary to the spirit and precepts of the Christian religion, more iniquitous and unjust, more impolitic, than persecution. It is against natural religion, revealed religion and sound policy.

Sad experience and a large mind taught that great man, the President De Thou, this doctrine. Let any man read the many admirable things which, though a Papist, he hath dared to advance upon the subject,

in the dedication of his History to Harry the Fourth of France, which I never read without rapture, and he will be fully convinced, not only how cruel, but how impolitic it is to prosecute for religious opinions. I am sorry that of late his countrymen have begun to open their eyes, see their error, and adopt his sentiments. I should not have broken my heart (I hope I may say it without breach of Christian charity) if France had continued to cherish the Jesuits and to persecute the Huguenots.

There was no occasion to revoke the Edict of Nantes. The Jesuits needed only to have advised a plan similar to what is contended for in the present case, *Make a law to render them incapable of office, make another to punish them for not serving.* If they accept, punish them (for it is admitted on all hands that the defendant, in the cause before your Lordships, is prosecutable for taking the office upon him)—if they accept, punish them; if they refuse, punish them. If they say yes, punish them; if they say no, punish them. My Lords, this is a most exquisite dilemma, from which there is no escaping. It is a trap a man cannot get out of; it is as bad persecution as that of Procrustes. If they are too short, stretch them; if they are too long, lop them. Small would have been their consolation to have been bravely told, “The Edict of Nantes is kept inviolable. You have the full benefit of that act of toleration; you may take the sacrament in your own way with impunity; you are not compelled to go to mass.” Were this case but told in the city of London, as of a proceeding in France, how they would exclaim

against the Jesuitical distinction! And yet, in truth, it comes from themselves. The Jesuits never thought of it. When they meant to persecute by their act of toleration, the Edict of Nantes was repealed.

This by-law, by which the Dissenters are to be reduced to this wretched dilemma, is a by-law of the city, a local corporation, contrary to an act of Parliament, which is the law of the land; a modern by-law of a very modern date, made long since the Corporation Act, long since the Toleration Act, in the face of them, for they knew these laws were in being. It was made in some year in the reign of the late King—I forget which; but it was made about the time of *building the mansion house!* Now, if it could be supposed the city have a power of making such a by-law, it would entirely subvert the Toleration Act, the design of which was to exempt the Dissenters from all penalties; for by such a by-law they have it in their power to make every Dissenter pay a fine of six hundred pounds, or any sum they please, for it amounts to that.

The professed design of making this by-law was to get fit and able persons to serve the office; and the plaintiff sets forth in his declaration, that if the Dissenters are excluded, they shall want fit and able persons to serve the office. But, were I to deliver my own suspicion, it would be, that they did not so much wish for their services as their fines. Dissenters have been appointed to this office, one who was blind, another who was bed-ridden; not, I suppose, on account of their being fit and able to serve the office. No: they were disabled both by nature and by law.

We had a case lately in the courts below, of a person chosen mayor of a corporation while he was beyond seas with his Majesty's troops in America, and they knew him to be so. Did they want him to serve the office? No; it was impossible. But they had a mind to continue the former mayor a year longer, and to have a pretence for setting aside him who was now chosen, on all future occasions, as having been elected before.

In the case before your Lordships, the defendant was by law incapable at the time of his pretended election; and it is my firm persuasion that he was chosen because he was incapable. If he had been capable, he had not been chosen, for they did not want him to serve the office. They chose him because, without a breach of the law, and a usurpation on the Crown, he could not serve the office. They chose him, that he might fall under the penalty of their by-law, made to serve a particular purpose; in opposition to which, and to avoid the fine thereby imposed, he hath pleaded a legal disability, grounded on two acts of Parliament. As I am of opinion that his plea is good, I conclude with moving your Lordships,

“That the judgment be affirmed.”

DELIBERATIVE

ON THE TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN¹

FISHER AMES

It would be strange that a subject which has aroused in turn all the passions of the country should be discussed without the interference of any of our own. We are men, and, therefore, not exempt from those passions; as citizens and representatives we feel the interests that must excite them. The hazard of great interests cannot fail to agitate strong passions. We are not disinterested; it is impossible we should be dispassionate. The warmth of such feelings may becloud the judgment and for a time pervert the understanding. But the public sensibility, and our own, has sharpened the spirit of inquiry and given an animation to the debate. The public attention has been quickened to mark the progress of the discussion, and its judgment, often hasty and erroneous on first impressions, has become solid and enlightened at last. Our result will, I hope, on that account be safer and more mature, as well as more accordant with that of the nation. The only constant agents in

¹ Delivered in the House of Representatives, April 28, 1796. On November 19, 1794, a "treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation" with Great Britain had been concluded, and in March, 1796, was proclaimed as the law of the land. On April 28 a resolution was offered that it would be expedient "to pass the laws necessary for carrying the treaty into effect." Mr. Ames's speech was on this resolution. It is somewhat abridged, but is a complete speech as here given.

political affairs are the passions of men. Shall we complain of our nature—shall we say that man ought to have been made otherwise? It is right already, because He, from whom we derive our nature, ordained it so; and because thus made and thus acting, the cause of truth and the public good is more surely promoted.

The treaty is bad, fatally bad, is the cry. It sacrifices the interest, the honour, the independence of the United States and the faith of our engagements to France. If we listen to the clamour of party intemperance, the evils are of a number not to be counted, and of a nature not to be borne, even in idea. The language of passion and exaggeration may silence that of sober reason in other places; it has not done it here. The question here is, whether the treaty be really so very fatal as to oblige the nation to break its faith. I admit that such a treaty ought not to be executed. I admit that self-preservation is the first law of society as well as of individuals. It would, perhaps, be deemed an abuse of terms to call that a treaty which violates such a principle. I waive, also, for the present, any inquiry what departments shall represent the nation and annul the stipulations of a treaty.

I content myself with pursuing the inquiry whether the nature of this compact be such as to justify our refusal to carry it into effect. A treaty is the promise of a nation. Now, promises do not always bind him that makes them. But I lay down two rules which ought to guide us in this case. The treaty must appear to be bad, not merely in the petty

details, but in its character, principle, and mass. And in the next place, this ought to be ascertained by the decided and general concurrence of the enlightened public.

I confess there seems to be something very like ridicule thrown over the debate by the discussion of the articles in detail. The undecided point is, shall we break our faith? And while our country and enlightened Europe await the issue with more than curiosity, we are employed to gather piecemeal, and article by article, from the instrument, a justification for the deed by trivial calculations of commercial profit and loss. This is little worthy of the subject of this body, or of the nation. If the treaty is bad it will appear to be so in its mass. Evil to a fatal extreme, if that be its tendency, requires no proof; it brings it. Extremes speak for themselves and make their own law. What if the direct voyage of American ships to Jamaica with horses or lumber might net one or two *per centum* more than the present trade to Surinam; would the proof of the fact avail anything in so grave a question as the violation of the public engagements?

What is patriotism? Is it a narrow affection for the spot where a man was born? Are the very clods where we tread entitled to this ardent preference because they are greener? No, sir, this is not the character of the virtue, and it soars higher for its object. It is an extended self-love, mingling with all the enjoyments of life, and twisting itself with the minutest filaments of the heart. It is thus we obey the laws of society, because they are the laws of virtue. In

their authority we see not the array of force and terror, but the venerable image of our country's honour. Every good citizen makes that honour his own and cherishes it not only as precious, but as sacred. He is willing to risk his life in its defence, and is conscious that he gains protection while he gives it. For, what rights of a citizen will be deemed inviolable when a State renounces the principles that constitute their security? Or if his life should not be invaded, what would its enjoyments be in a country odious in the eyes of strangers and dishonoured in his own? Could he look with affection and veneration to such a country as his parent? The sense of having one would die within him; he would blush for his patriotism, if he retained any, and justly, for it would be a vice. He would be a banished man in his native land.

I see no exception to the respect that is paid among nations to the law of good faith. If there are cases in this enlightened period when it is violated, there are none when it is decried. It is the philosophy of politics, the religion of governments. It is observed by barbarians—a whiff of tobacco smoke, or a string of beads gives not merely binding force but sanctity to treaties. Even in Algiers a truce may be bought for money, but when ratified even Algiers is too wise, or too just, to disown and annul its obligation. Thus we see, neither the ignorance of savages, nor the principles of an association for piracy and rapine, permit a nation to despise its engagements. If, sir, there could be a resurrection from the foot of the gallows, if the victims of

justice could live again, collect together and form a society, they would, however loath, soon find themselves obliged to make justice, that justice under which they fell, the fundamental law of their state. They would perceive it was their interest to make others respect, and they would, therefore, soon pay some respect themselves to the obligations of good faith.

It is painful, I hope it is superfluous, to make even the supposition that America should furnish the occasion of this opprobrium. No, let me not even imagine that a republican government, sprung as our own is from a people enlightened and uncorrupted, a government whose origin is right, and whose daily discipline is duty, can, upon solemn debate, make its option to be faithless—can dare to act what despots dare not avow, what our own example evinces, the States of Barbary are unsuspected of.

No, let me rather make the supposition that Great Britain refuses to execute the treaty, after we have done everything to carry it into effect. Is there any language of reproach pungent enough to express your commentary of the fact? What would you say, or, rather, what could you not say? Would you not tell them, wherever an Englishman might travel, shame would stick to him—he would disown his country. You would exclaim: England, proud of your wealth, and arrogant in the possession of power—blush for these distinctions which become the vehicles of your dishonour. Such a nation might truly say to corruption, thou art my father, and to the worm, thou art my mother and my sister. We would say of such

a race of men, their name is a heavier burden than their debt.

On this theme my emotions are unutterable. If I could find no words for them, if my powers bore any proportion of my zeal, I would swell my voice to such a note of remonstrance it should reach every log house beyond the mountains. I would say to the inhabitants: Wake from your false security; your cruel dangers, your more cruel apprehensions are soon to be renewed; the wounds, yet unhealed, are to be torn open again; in the daytime your path through the woods will be ambushed; the darkness of midnight will glitter with the blaze of your dwellings. You are a father—the blood of your sons shall fatten your cornfield; you are a mother—the war-whoop shall wake the sleep of the cradle.

On this subject you need not suspect any deception on your feelings. It is a spectacle of horror which cannot be overdrawn. If you have nature in your hearts, it will speak a language compared with which all I have said or can say will be poor and frigid.

Will it be whispered that the treaty has made me a new champion for the protection of the frontiers? It is known that my voice as well as my vote has been uniformly given in conformity with the ideas I have expressed. Protection is the right of the frontiers; it is our duty to give it.

Who will accuse me of wandering out of the subject? Who will say that I exaggerate the tendencies of our measures? Will any one answer by a sneer that all this is idle preaching? Will any one deny

that we are bound, and I would hope to good purpose, by the most solemn sanctions of duty for the vote we give? Are despots alone to be reproached for unfeeling indifference to the tears and blood of their subjects? Have the principles on which you ground the reproach upon cabinets and kings no practical influence, no binding force? Are they merely themes of idle declamation introduced to decorate the morality of a newspaper essay or to furnish petty topics of harangue from the windows of that State House? I trust it is neither too presumptuous nor too late to ask. Can you put the dearest interest of society at risk without guilt and without remorse?

By rejecting the posts we light the savage fires—we bind the victims. This day we undertake to render account to the widows and orphans whom our decision will make, to the wretches that will be roasted at the stake, to our country, and I do not deem it too serious to say, to conscience and to God. We are answerable, and if duty be anything more than a word of imposture, if conscience be not a bugbear, we are preparing to make ourselves as wretched as our country.

There is no mistake in this case—there can be none. Experience has already been the prophet of events, and the cries of future victims have already reached us. The Western inhabitants are not a silent and uncomplaining sacrifice. The voice of humanity issues from the shade of their wilderness. It exclaims that, while one hand is held up to reject this treaty, the other grasps the tomahawk. It sum-

mons our imagination to the scenes that will open. It is no great effort of the imagination to conceive that events so near are already begun. I can fancy that I listen to the yells of savage vengeance and the shrieks of torture. Already they seem to sigh in the west wind—already they mingle with every echo from the mountains.

Let me cheer the mind, weary, no doubt, and ready to despond on this prospect, by presenting another, which it is yet in our power to realise. Is it possible for a real American to look at the prosperity of this country without some desire for its continuance—without some respect for the measures which, many will say, produce, and all will confess, have preserved it? Will he not feel some dread that a change of system will reverse the scene? The well-grounded fears of our citizens in 1794 were removed by the treaty, but are not forgotten. Then they deemed war nearly inevitable, and would not this adjustment have been considered at that day as a happy escape from the calamity? The great interest and the general desire of our people were to enjoy the advantages of neutrality. This instrument, however misrepresented, affords America that inestimable security. The causes of our disputes are either cut up by the roots or referred to a new negotiation after the end of the European war. This was gaining everything, because it confirmed our neutrality by which our citizens are gaining everything. This alone would justify the engagements of the government. For, when the fiery vapours of the war lowered in the skirts of our horizon, all our wishes were

concentrated in this one, that we might escape the desolation of the storm. This treaty, like a rainbow on the edge of the cloud, marked to our eyes the space where it was raging and afforded at the same time the sure prognostic of fair weather. If we reject it, the vivid colours will grow pale—it will be a baleful meteor portending tempest and war.

I rose to speak under the impressions that I would have resisted if I could. Those who see me will believe that the reduced state of my health has unfitted me almost equally for much exertion of body or mind. Unprepared for debate, by careful reflection in my retirement or by long attention here, I thought the resolution I had taken to sit silent was imposed by necessity, and would cost me no effort to maintain. With a mind thus vacant of ideas and sinking, as I really am, under a sense of weakness, I imagined the very desire of speaking was extinguished by the persuasion that I had nothing to say. Yet, when I come to the moment of deciding the vote I start back with dread from the edge of the pit into which we are plunging. In my view even the minutes I have spent in expostulation have their value, because they protract the crisis and the short period in which alone we may resolve to escape it.

I have thus been led by my feelings to speak more at length than I intended. Yet I have, perhaps, as little personal interest in the event as anyone here. There is, I believe, no member who will not think his chance to be a witness of the consequences greater than mine. If, however, the vote shall pass to reject, and a spirit should rise, as it will, with the public

disorders, to make confusion worse confounded, even I, slender and almost broken as my hold upon life is, may outlive the government and Constitution of my country.

SOCIAL

VEGETABLE AND MINERAL GOLD ¹

EDWARD EVERETT

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen:—My worthy friend, Mr. Winthrop, who has just taken his seat, was good enough to remark that he was waiting with impatience for me to speak. Far different was my feeling while he was speaking.

I listened not only with patience, but with satisfaction and delight, as I am sure you all did. If he spoke of the embarrassment under which he rose to address such an assembly, an embarrassment which all, however accustomed to public speaking, could not but feel, how much greater must be my embarrassment! He had to contend only with the difficulties natural to the occasion, and with having to follow the eloquent gentleman from Philadelphia.² I have to contend with all that difficulty, and also with the difficulty of following not only *that* gentleman, who delighted us all so much, but my eloquent friend who has just taken his seat.

¹ Delivered at a public festival of the United States Agricultural Society, in Boston, Mass., October 4, 1855, in reply to a complimentary toast.

² Mr. McMichael.

And when two such gentlemen have passed over the ground, the one with his wide-sweeping reaper, and the other with his keen trenchant scythe, there is nothing left but a gleaning to their successor. With respect to the kind manner, sir, in which you have been so good as to introduce my name to this company, it is plain that I can have nothing to respond, but to imitate the example of the worthy clergyman upon the Connecticut River, who, when some inquisitive friend, from a distant part of the country, asked him, somewhat indiscreetly, whether there was much true piety among his flock, said, "Nothing in that way to boast of."

Mr. President, if this were a geological, instead of an agricultural society, and if it were your province not to dig the surface, but to bore into the depths of the earth, it would not be surprising if, in some of your excavations, you should strike upon such a fossil as myself. But when I look around upon your exhibition—the straining course—the crowded, bustling ring—the motion, the life, the fire—the immense crowds of ardent youth and emulous manhood, assembled from almost every part of the country, actors or spectators of the scene, I feel that it is hardly the place for quiet, old-fashioned folks, accustomed to quiet, old-fashioned ways. I feel somewhat like the Doge of Genoa, whom the imperious mandate of Louis XIV had compelled to come to Versailles, and who, after surveying and admiring its marvels, exclaimed, that he wondered at everything he saw, and most of all at finding himself there.

Since, however, sir, with that delicate consideration

toward your "elder brethren" which I so lately had occasion to acknowledge at Dorechester, you are willing to trust yourself by the side of such a specimen of palæontology as myself, I have much pleasure in assuring you that I have witnessed with the highest satisfaction the proof afforded by this grand exhibition, that the agriculture of our country, with all the interests connected with it, is in a state of active improvement. In all things, sir, though I approve a judicious conservatism, it is not merely for myself, but as the basis of a safe progress. I own there are some old things, both in nature, and art, and society, that I like for themselves. I all but worship the grand old hills, the old rivers that roll between them, and the fine old trees bending with the weight of centuries. I reverence an old homestead, an old burying ground, the good men of olden times. I love old friends, good books, and I don't absolutely dislike a drop of good old wine for the stomach's sake, provided it is taken from an original package. But these tastes and sentiments are all consistent with, nay, in my judgment, they are favourable to, a genial growth, progression, and improvement, such as is rapidly taking place in the agriculture of the country. In a word, I have always been, and am now, for both stability and progress; learning, from a rather antiquated, but not yet wholly discredited, authority, to "prove all things, and to hold fast to that which is good." I know, sir, that the modern rule is, "Try all things, and hold fast to nothing."

But, sir, to come to more practical, and you will probably think, more appropriate topics, I will en-

deavour to show you that I am no enemy to new discoveries in agriculture or anything else. So far from it, I am going to communicate to you a new discovery of my own, which, if I do not greatly overrate its importance, is as novel, as brilliant, and as auspicious of great results, as the celebrated discovery of Dr. Franklin; not the identity of the electric fluid and lightning, I don't refer to that; but his other famous discovery; that the sun rises several hours before noon; that he begins to shine as soon as he rises; and that the solar ray is a cheaper light for the inhabitants of large cities, than the candles, and oil, and wax tapers, which they are in the habit of preferring to it. I say, sir, my discovery is somewhat of the same kind; and I really think, full as important. I have been upon the track of it for several years; ever since the glitter of a few metallic particles in the gravel, washed out of Captain Sutter's mill-race, first led to the discovery of the gold diggings of California; which for some time past have been pouring into the country fifty or sixty millions of dollars annually.

My discovery, sir, is nothing short of this, that we have no need to go or send to California for gold, inasmuch as we have gold diggings on this side of the continent, much more productive, and consequently much more valuable, than theirs. I do not of course refer to the mines of North Carolina or Georgia, which have been worked with some success for several years, but which, compared with those of California, are of no great moment. I refer to a much broader vein of auriferous earth, which runs wholly

through the States on this side of the Rocky Mountains, which we have been working unconsciously for many years, without recognising its transeendent importance; and which it is actually estimated will yield, the present year, ten or fifteen times as much as the California diggings, taking their produce at sixty millions of dollars.

Then, sir, this gold of ours not only exceeds the California in the annual yield of the diggings, but in several other respects. It certainly requires labour, but not nearly as much labour to get it out. Our diggings may be depended on with far greater confidence, for the average yield on a given superficies. A certain quantity of moisture is no doubt necessary with us, as with them, but you are not required, as you are in the placers of California, to stand up to your middle in water all day, rocking a cradle filled with gravel and gold-dust. The cradles we rock are filled with something better. Another signal advantage of our gold over the California gold, is, that after being pulverised and moistened, and subjected to the action of moderate heat, it becomes a grateful and nutritious article of food; whereas no man, not even the long-eared King of Phrygia himself, who wished that everything he touched might become gold, could masticate a thimbleful of the California dust, cold or hot, to save him from starvation. Then, sir, we get our Atlantic gold on a good deal more favourable terms than we get that of California. It is probable, nay, it is certain, that, for every million dollars' worth of dust that we have received from San Francisco, we send

out a full million's worth in produce, in manufactures, in notions generally, and in freight; but the gold which is raised from the diggings this side, yields, with good management, a vast increase on the outlay, some thirty fold, some sixty, some a hundred. But, besides all this, there are two discriminating circumstances of a most peculiar character, in which our gold differs from that of California, greatly to the advantage of ours. The first is this:

On the Sacramento and Feather rivers, throughout the placers, in all the wet diggings and the dry diggings, and in all the deposits of auriferous quartz, you can get but one solitary exhaustive crop from one locality; and, in getting that, you spoil it for further use. The soil is dug over, worked over, washed over, ground over, sifted over—in short, turned into an abomination of desolation, which all the guano of the Chincha Islands would not restore to fertility. You can never get from it a second yield of gold, nor anything else, unless, perhaps, a crop of mullein or stramonium. The Atlantic diggings, on the contrary, with good management, will yield a fresh crop of the gold every four years, and remain in the interval in condition for a succession of several other good things of nearly equal value.

The other discriminating circumstance is of still more astonishing nature. The grains of the California gold are dead, inorganic masses. How they got into the gravel; between what mountain mill-stones, whirled by elemental storm-winds on the bosom of oceanic torrents, the auriferous ledges were ground to powder; by what titanic hands the coveted

grains were sown broadcast in the placers, human science can but faintly conjecture. We only know that these grains have within them no principle of growth or reproduction, and that, when that crop was put in, chaos must have broken up the soil.

How different the grains of our Atlantic gold, sown by the prudent hand of man, in the kindly alternation of seed-time and harvest, each curiously, mysteriously organised, hard, horny, seeming lifeless on the outside, but wrapping up in the interior a seminal germ, a living principle!

Drop a grain of California gold into the ground, and there it will lie unchanged to the end of time, the elods on which it falls not more cold and lifeless. Drop a grain of our gold, of our blessed gold, into the ground, and lo! a mystery. In a few days it softens, it swells, it shoots upwards, it is a living thing. It is yellow itself, but it sends up a delicate spire, which comes peeping, emerald green, through the soil; it expands to a vigorous stalk; revels in the air and sunshine; arrays itself, more glorious than Solomon, in its broad, fluttering, leafy robes, whose sound, as the west wind whispers through them, falls as pleasantly on the husbandman's ear, as the rustle of his sweetheart's garment; still towers aloft, spins its verdant skeins of vegetable floss, displays its dancing tassels, surcharged with fertilising dust, and at last ripens into two or three magnificent batons like this,¹ each of which is studded with hundreds of grains of gold, every one possessing the same wonderful properties as the parent grain, every one in-

¹ An ear of Indian corn.

stinet with the same marvellous reproductive powers. There are seven hundred and twenty grains on the ear which I hold in my hand. I presume there were two or three such ears on the stalk. This would give us one thousand four hundred and forty, perhaps two thousand one hundred and sixty grains as the produce of one. They would yield next season, if they were all successfully planted, four thousand two hundred, perhaps six thousand three hundred ears. Who does not see that, with this stupendous progression, the produce of one grain in a few years might feed all mankind? And yet with this visible creation annually springing and ripening around us, there are men who doubt, who deny the existence of God. Gold from the Sacramento River, sir! There is a sacrament in this ear of corn enough to bring an atheist to his knees.

But it will be urged, perhaps, sir, in behalf of the California gold, by some miserly "old fogey," who thinks there is no music in the world equal to the chink of his guineas, that, though one crop only of gold can be gathered from the same spot, yet, once gathered, it lasts to the end of time; while (he will maintain) our vegetable gold is produced only to be consumed, and when consumed, is gone for ever. But this, Mr. President, would be a most egregious error both ways. It is true the California gold will last forever unchanged, if its owner chooses; but, while it so lasts, it is of no use; no, not as much as its value in pig iron, which makes the best of ballast; whereas gold, while it is gold, is good for little or nothing. You can neither eat it, nor drink it, nor smoke it.

You can neither wear it, nor burn it as fuel, nor build a house with it; it is really useless till you exchange it for consumable, perishable goods; and the more plentiful it is the less its exchangeable value.

Far different the case with our Atlantic gold; it does not perish when consumed, but, by a nobler alchemy than that of Paracelsus, is transmuted in consumption to a higher life. "Perish in consumption," did the old miser say? "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened *except* it die." The burning pen of inspiration, ranging heaven and earth for a similitude, to convey to our poor minds some not inadequate idea of the mighty doctrine of the resurrection, can find no symbol so expressive as "bare grain, it may chance of wheat or some other grain." To-day a senseless plant, to-morrow it is human bone and muscle, vein and artery, sinew and nerve; beating pulse, heaving lungs, toiling, ah, sometimes, over-toiling brain. Last June, it sucked from the cold breast of the earth the watery nourishment of its distending sap-vessels; and now it clothes the manly form with warm, cordial flesh; quivers and thrills with the five-fold mystery of sense; purveys and ministers to the higher mystery of thought. Heaped up in your granaries this week, the next it will strike in the stalwart arm, and glow in the blushing cheek, and flash in the beaming eye; till we learn at last to realise that the slender stalk, which we have seen shaken by the summer breeze, bending in the corn-field under the yellow burden of harvest, is indeed the "staff of life," which, since the world began, has supported

the toiling and struggling myriads of humanity on the mighty pilgrimage of being.

Yes, sir, to drop the allegory, and speak without a figure, it is this noble agriculture, for the promotion of which this great company is assembled from so many parts of the Union, which feeds the human race, and all the humbler orders of animated nature dependent on man. With the exception of what is yielded by the fisheries and the chase (a limited, though certainly not an insignificant source of supply), agriculture is the steward which spreads the daily table of mankind. Twenty-seven millions of human beings, by accurate computation, awoke this very morning, in the United States, all requiring their "daily bread," whether they had the grace to pray for it or not, and under Providence, all looking to the agriculture of the country for that daily bread, and the food of the domestic animals depending on them; a demand, perhaps, as great as their own. Mr. President, it is the daily duty of you farmers to satisfy this gigantic appetite; to fill the mouths of these hungry millions—of these starving millions, I might say—for, if, by any catastrophe, the supply were cut off for a few days, the life of the country—human and brute—would be extinct.

How nobly this great duty is performed by the agriculture of the country, I need not say at this board, especially as the subject has been discussed by the gentleman¹ who preceded me. The wheat crop of the United States the present year is variously estimated at from one hundred and fifty to one hundred

¹ Mr. Winthrop.

and seventy-five millions of bushels; the oat crop at four hundred millions of bushels; the Indian corn, our precious vegetable gold, at one thousand millions of bushels! A bushel at least for every human being on the face of the globe. Of the other cereal, and of the leguminous crops, I have no estimate. Even the humble article of hay—this poor timothy, herd's grass, and redtop, which, not rising to the dignity of the food of man, serves only for the subsistence of the mute partners of his toil—the hay crop of the United States is probably but little, if any, inferior in value to the whole crop of cotton, which the glowing imagination of the South sometimes regards as the great bond which binds the civilised nations of the earth together.

I meant to have said a few words, sir, on the nature of your institution, and its relations to our common country as a bond of union, but I have lost my voice and strength,¹ and my good friend, who has treated that topic, never yet left anything to be said by those who came after him. I will only, in sitting down, take occasion to express the great interest I feel in the operations of this association. I see that it is doing, and I have no doubt it will yet do, great good.

I beg, in taking my seat, sir, to tender you my most fervent wishes and hopes for its increased and permanent prosperity and usefulness.

¹ Edward Everett was then in his seventy-second year.

PULPIT ORATORY

THERE is very little difference between pulpit oratory and any other class, provided truth is, as it should be, the foundation of them all. In fact, oratory cannot exist without truth; there may be public speaking without the presence of this divine power, but oratory can only come into being when fathered by absolute sincerity and carrying a message of truth to the hearts of men. In this case, the word truth should be understood in its broad sense—not only as an individual understands it, but as any individual may understand it. One person may see an object, or consider a question, from one standpoint and it will appear one thing, while another may see or consider it from some other standpoint and it will appear entirely different. Both see correctly, and both reach the right conclusion, but the viewpoint of each differs. This was the case during our Civil War. The men under Lee saw the questions that divided the States from the Southern viewpoint, and saw them with perfectly true sight, as did also the men under Grant who saw them from the Northern viewpoint; both were equally sincere, both

fought as bravely, and both died as gloriously for the truth as they saw it, although the crown of victory in the military struggle could be bestowed only upon one. So it is with oratory. The orator who is in the right does not always prevail at the moment of the delivery of his oration, but time will bring victory to the cause that he espoused, or decree that the principles for which he fought shall prevail, long after he himself has gone down in defeat, and his earthly existence terminated.

“Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And dies among his worshippers.”

EXAMPLES OF PULPIT ORATORY

Here are presented three specimens of pulpit eloquence widely differing in construction and language, and yet alike in one great essential—sincerity. They all ring true, and those who are acquainted with the three men who composed them know that they could not ring in any other manner, for as long as like begets like must the productions of these divines ring true. Differing as they do in their religious views, dissimilar as are their modes of construction and their manners of delivery, yet are

they alike in the beauty of their sincerity. The matter here presented speaks for itself and shows wherein exists the differences in the styles of construction and composition of these eminent men, but a few remarks regarding their manner of presentation will prove interesting and beneficial.

The Rev. Dr. Ernest M. Stires is, above all else, a speaker. The greater portion of his best work has never appeared in print. He has cast it upon the minds and hearts of his people, and there it is bearing fruit. The author has listened to far more eloquent discourses than "Sincerity and Sacrifice" from the mouth of Dr. Stires, but as they were extemporaneous in the true sense of the word, they have ceased to exist except so far as their influence on the lives of the listeners will cause them to live forever. Their material parts have died, but their spiritual parts have passed into a new existence and have gone into the making of souls through the creation of spirituality in the men and women who heard them.

Dr. Stires is earnest in delivery but not vehemently so. He is at times appealing, urgent and commanding, but always appropriate in matter and manner. He has a particularly expressive face. One moment it is clouded with concern; the next, it is radiant with hope. He

makes use of many gestures, which are expressive, and add force to the spoken word, and, what is so essential, they appear perfectly in place in the pulpit.

In "Laying Hold of Life" we have a sermon that reflects the Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Slicer to perfection. Here is seen his mental grasp, his keen perception, and spontaneous flow of language.

Dr. Slicer's delivery is simplicity itself. To him, a sermon must never be a performance. His principal aim, as far as expression is concerned, seems to be the avoidance of word or action that would appear to be at all studied, or in any manner foreign to himself. He delivers a sermon exactly as he talks to an individual, and he goes about the delivery of his message without parade of any kind. His is the production of that perfect ease, however, that is only acquired by hard study and practice. Dr. Slicer does not exemplify the doer of things without study or preparation, but he is a splendid example of one who hides the mechanism of his work from the view of his audience. He is so accustomed to use the tools of his trade that, like the carpenter who does not have to stop to think that a saw is for cutting wood, a hammer for driving nails or a rule for measuring, he applies his emphasis properly, modu-

lates his voice correctly and speaks his words intelligently without any consideration of the means that he employs.

The Rev. Dr. David James Burrell is one of the greatest masters of sermon building in the world to-day. The author has listened to many of the prominent preachers in Great Britain and America, from the days of the Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher to the present day, but never has he listened to one who excelled Dr. Burrell in constructing a sermon. There is no refuting his argument, nor upsetting his conclusion, after one has acknowledged the correctness of his premises. His logic is so convincing, his power of clinching an argument so great, and his conclusions so natural, that the only hope for an adversary would be to attack the correctness of his premises. A Voltaire or an Ingersoll might do this, but if they acknowledged the truth of his premises, it would be useless for them to hope to overcome his argument or to dispute his conclusion.

“The Belief of an Unbeliever” is a typical Burrell sermon, and displays, in a magnificent manner, the constructive skill of this great preacher. It will be seen that Dr. Burrell starts with a Proposition, and then proceeds to prove it. He presents but one idea, and this he makes perfectly clear, and then drives it

home and clinches it in such a manner as to make it abide with the listener.

The delivery of Dr. Burrell is characteristic of the man. He talks frankly, earnestly and convincingly, illustrating many of his remarks by quotations from the poets of all lands and all ages. No pulpit hides him from his congregation; he stands on a platform in full view, but refrains from pacing up and down, back and forth, as did the Rev. Dr. T. De Witt Talmage. His gestures are mainly those of action, depicting the movement of his thought and expressing his feeling, but they always act as allies to his speech and assist him in driving home his message.

The three sermons that follow are given as examples of effective modern pulpit oratory:

SINCERITY AND SACRIFICE

ERNEST M. STIRES

"All things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee." I Chron. xxix, 14.

The man who influences us is the man with intelligent convictions. Convictions without intelligence and casual opinions are sometimes interesting, never compelling. Convictions are costly. A man may

¹ A sermon preached in St. Thomas's Church, New York City, on Sunday, February 2, 1908.

possess opinions, but convictions possess the man and make him give himself and his goods gladly that truth and right may be established. The patriot with convictions will die for his country, if need be; the statesman with convictions will sacrifice his ambitions rather than mislead the people; the Christian with convictions is patriot and statesman, soldier and leader, all that he is and has is consecrated to a high cause, in which God has called him to lead men to victory.

The test of devotion is sacrifice; the greater the devotion the more willing and complete is the sacrifice. This is true in patriotism, in friendship, in love, in religion. When the Light of Life was dawning on a world darkened by selfishness of every horrid form, nothing so arrested attention as the utter unselfishness of the Christians. Here were men and women with firm convictions, and the courage of them. With a sublime faith in God, a certainty of the presence of the spirit of Christ, their immortal leader, they undertook the task of changing the character of the world. Whether the world scorned or stoned, they did not falter; they lived the life they taught, and died with a prayer for their enemies. The world was shocked into thought by such faith in God, by a vision of man's life exhibiting purity, honesty, humility, truth, and a love for humanity so entirely unselfish as to be beyond understanding.

Yes, the test of devotion is sacrifice, and sincere Christians have always realised it. At times the sacrifice has possessed a strange, unnecessary form; at times the offering has been as useful as it was sub-

lime. Consider several examples. Take first the Crusades. Though full of brilliant colour, infused with the spirit of epic poetry, of thrilling romance, yet their story is the story of tens of thousands who gave their lives for a holy cause. True, we may wonder whether such expenditure was wise, whether the effort to recover from the Turk the rock-hewn sepulchre in which the Lord's body had lain might not better have been expended in making the world a better place for men to live in. But whatever one may say in criticism of the object of the Crusades, let men bow their heads before such self-sacrifice as they reveal, and let men remember that the blood of Christians is redder to-day for our inheritance from those days of glorious self-forgetfulness.

The devotion of Christians expressed itself in another form. Many religious orders came into being; preaching orders, orders who cared for the sick, the poor, the hopeless, the helpless. Men bound themselves by strictest vows; many of the normal pleasures of life, some times all of them, were utterly renounced. In particular all were pledged to a life of poverty; whatever property they possessed was surrendered for the benefit of the needy, whatever was given them was used at once for the relief of the helpless. After the manner of their Master they went forth without money, without food, without the certainty of a place to lay their heads. It is often easier to criticise than to imitate. Doubtless the history of the religious orders will afford abundant material for objectors, but doubtless they accomplished a vast amount of good, doubtless some such orders

are useful to-day, and doubtless aided by the correcting and inspiring history of the past, such organised bodies are destined to have a still greater influence on manners and life in the future.

The Christian conviction, which must express itself in sacrifice, took also another form. As man's life must in its character and usefulness be a worthy offering to God, so the sanctuary in which the great human family should assemble to worship the All-Father must represent the most perfect gift man could present to God. It must be constructed of the best material, its design must enlist the highest faculties of man's mind, its completion and reverent adornment must demand the complete investment of heart and soul. The house of God, they felt, must in its large proportions, its great uplifting arches, its splendid spaciousness, tell the multitude of the majesty of God, His strength, His wisdom, His infinite love and care. Within and without every stone should be eloquent, should declare its holy purpose. In such conviction as this they built the great churches and cathedrals. For the most part their architects are unknown, and few of those who laboured to build them are anywhere recorded. One might almost imagine that they strove to give their offering this ultimate perfection, that all might be done to the glory of God and nothing to the glory of man. But their work remains; work so gloriously beautiful, so profoundly impressive, so positively convincing and inspiring that many a man has testified that the hearing of noblest passages of Holy

Scripture has hardly affected him so deeply as a visit to a thirteenth-century cathedral.

Few realise the complete nobility of the spirit in which those great churches were planned and built. We remember little of the way in which thousands of men devoted their lives to this work; of how they studied and trained themselves for the purpose of spending their lives without pay or any earthly reward in constant toil till death promoted them to the Father's greater House. Thousands of men possessed of the best learning and culture of their day, thought it the highest privilege thus to build for God. They knew that but little could be completed in their time; that many generations would come and go before the mighty plan would be fulfilled; but they laboured as faithfully as if they could see the end, glorying in the beauty of the small part completed in their lifetime; cheered by the vision of the perfect temple which faithful men after them would bring to fulfilment. What sacrifice and faith to be content with so little that they might contribute to something so sublimely great; what faith in their successors, to be sure that their uncompleted work would be carried to beautiful perfection!

The stories of the Crusades, even the history of the great religious orders, sound like the tales of a remote day. Yet many of our greatest churches are as old, though they never seem so, for they possess a living voice, they speak an immortal, universal tongue, the language of the spirit. And as we feel the soul of an old cathedral pressing upon us, as we listen to

its voice, deep and loving, and wise with the wisdom of centuries, who does not thank God for the men who planned and toiled; who built their lives into those splendid walls and cemented them with their heart's blood.

You must not think it strange that some question the wisdom of building great churches, of costly material, of beautiful proportions, and placed on valuable ground. No noble thing has ever been accomplished without criticism, and sometimes the criticism is well-meant.

Why should a house of God be representative materially, intellectually, spiritually of man's very best? First, because it is to be offered to God. Let us hesitate to offer Him that which is imperfect, that which costs us little or nothing, that which comes far short of our best. All around man is placing emphasis on himself, and the foreground is filled with his galleries, his libraries, his luxurious hostelrys, his palatial homes. He provides a perpetual feast for his eye, his ear, his brain, for all his bodily appetites. The temples of Mammon are many and sumptuous. Shall there not be dedicated to God, at least occasionally, a house of prayer, a home of the soul, which in the grandeur of splendid dignity, in the evidence of great sacrifice, shall strike a spiritual note of such emphasis that it may be heard above the Babel of the world's voices, and by its very power bring peace to the souls of men? Surely men owe to God something better than they bestow upon themselves. Christians with convictions are sure of this.

But were the duty to God less evident, duty to

man would still demand the offering of our best for the elevation and inspiration of man's soul. Surrounded by lavish expenditure for temporal pleasure, shall not the chief place be given to that which is to minister to man's immortal nature? An offering to make beautiful and adequate the House of God is an expenditure also for a man's higher education. In God's house are to come to him his noblest thoughts, his brightest visions, his highest ambitions, his deepest penitence, his loftiest courage. For his own sake let him so build that the noble structure will help him to feel the presence of God, who comes to correct, to forgive, to inspire His child. And what a man does for himself when he gives such a house to God, he does for many another man, and continues, by his offering, to bless thousands of men through years to come. Can he do so much for humanity in any other way? For this is to strengthen life in its very citadel. True, the hospitals which care for the sick, the many homes for the poor, the aged, the helpless, the many institutions which minister to the needs of worthy people in distress,—all these make a proper claim to our sympathy and help. And yet, whence came the influence which founded them? Where were trained the people who manage them? Whence are the great offerings to maintain them? None know better than you, for none respond to their needs more readily than you. When the church is strengthened, all charitable and philanthropic institutions are strengthened at their source. A great church made beautiful, strong, permanent, is the best possible contribution to the help of humanity.

How rich such a church becomes in memories; what a place it comes to have in the life of a city and a nation; what noble undertakings seek inspiration within its walls! Whoever has a drop of Anglo-Saxon blood, whoever speaks the English tongue, lays some claim to Westminster Abbey. Its greatness is so wonderful, so varied, so appealing, that one can no more resist it than one can describe it. We may not in this newer land have such noble churches, such dramatic history as our mother country, but we are making history, and soon, please God, we will build some churches worthy to claim kinship with the noblest temples ever consecrated to Him.

At this moment such an opportunity is given to us. I am not doubtful of the result. Here are Christians with intelligent convictions; here are those grateful for the inspiring examples of the past, and ready to make proof of their gratitude. Here are many who are able to know the comforts and luxuries of life, and who yet desire to give the highest place to God. Here are those who by thorough education and widest culture appreciate the value of employing the noblest means to stimulate the soul of man.

Think of it, my people, is it not worth working for, is it worthy of sacrifices like those of old? Do not those who gave so nobly in the past come near to-day and urge us to do likewise? Are there not dear ones in the Father's larger House who plead with us to-day to do this great thing for God and man?

When David called on the people to bring their offerings for the temple which Solomon should erect, the result surprised and humbled him. So great was

the offering, so assured was the beauty and dignity of God's house, that his heart overflowed with gratitude in the great prayer from which our text is taken. He recognised clearly the explanation of his people's generosity; they believed that all that they possessed came from God, and that the need of a temple worthy of God's acceptance brought the opportunity and the duty to give back to God somewhat of His own. Yet this gift to God remained with them, their greatest glory, their highest inspiration. So let it be with us.

When the King came "there was no room." Nineteen centuries later, my people, we will build our noblest house for Him. We will always rejoice that we did it; most of all on that bright day when He finds room for us in the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

LAYING HOLD OF LIFE ¹

THOMAS R. SLICER

In the first epistle of Timothy, the sixth chapter, and twelfth verse, we read these words: "Fight the good fight of faith; lay hold upon eternal life."

I conceive it to be the mission of our pulpits to bring all the things that have been remote as incentives to goodness into the very foreground of our days. The motives that are remote are imperative in the ratio in which they are entertained. There was a time when the legend was necessary and the symbol

¹ Sermon delivered on Easter Sunday, April 15, 1906, at All Souls' Church, New York.

effectual, but the legend belongs to a primitive time and the symbol is for the immature. The beautiful stories of the resurrection are preserved not for their wonder but for their moral significance. They could not die because there was in them the eternal element. Death was abolished because Christ had "*brought life and immortality to light* in the good news," and the grave was opened because it was discovered that there had come into the world a man who could not die, whose elements were immortal, and of whom it was said that "he was made not after the law of a carnal commandment," though born as we are. That was accident, the attendant fact of his being, that he was born under earthly conditions; "he was made" (not born) says the passage, "not after the law of a carnal commandment"—that commandment that reverberates down from the beginnings of life—"Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," but he was made "according to the power of an *indissoluble* life," its strands so plaited that they can never be released, its being so composite that it can never be referred to in its elements; it is forever "indissoluble." Is it wonderful that he had not died, that he was not imprisoned in the grave, that they should have written, as a test, that he "was known to them whose eyes were holden in the breaking of bread"? The legend floats down not upon the stream of time but upon the current of an undying affection and spiritual inspiration. Now, Paul did well to send to this young man at Ephesus the exhortation "to lay hold upon eternal life," not to wait for or regard it as something to be inherited, not to look with remote

and strained attention for its coming, but surrounded as he was in one of the great centres of the world, with every form of dissoluteness that has in it the guarantee of dissolution, with every form of vice, refined and vulgar.

Ephesus vied with Antioch successfully in perpetuating in terms of delight the sensual life until it was said that the streams of the Orontes had poured themselves into the Tiber, to the pollution of all Rome. Paul warns Timothy that he has a great contest on hand, a great struggle—the word used here means to agonise—Paul tells him he has to agonise over the struggle, which is a good struggle, or, in the exact English of it, “a beautiful fight of faith”; he is to put agony into terms so good that it shall be translated into beauty, just as in art the struggling father and his sons in the throes of the struggle with the python have stood for the very summit and example of manly beauty for ages. “Fight the good fight of faith.” Now, why faith? Oh, would to God we could get through with believing that faith is a set of propositions, that faith is a series of statements, that faith is something that can be apprehended by the mind and set in order by logic; I would to God we might be rid of that vain belief forever. Faith is a way of looking at life, a view of things that are in the light shed on them by the things that are to be; faith is a style of living, a sublime emotion, a great lift of the spirit, a way of allying one’s self with the highest, the utmost that the soul can do in believing that there is something which corresponds to its best. Fight the good fight of faith,—that is,

rise above the sensual surroundings of Ephesus, rise above these things, to the sublimated life of the good fight of faith. Now, there is nothing better for a strong man's exercise than a good fight; no man ever shirks a good fight for a good cause; no man is ever afraid, who amounts to anything. But to lift it to the plane of the sublime and fight the beautiful fight of faith until the things that are alluring cease to attract and the things that are carnal are sublimated and the things of the senses appeal no longer because the very beatitudes have been evoked and the whole lift of life has come,—that is what Paul exhorts; that is, he says, to lay hold upon the life that is forever. The great exhortation, then, is not to wait for the great necromancy and magic of death to introduce you to eternal life. Your investments are instant, and your claim upon the eternal life is to be constant. I cannot do better, I think, than constantly to insist that the soul is in the making. What is there in the losing of the breath, in the thinning of the blood, in the relaxing of the tense muscles and of the strings of the nerves, that should make a man better? A man is at his best when he is most a man, and dying cannot improve him. Is sickness an equipment for life? Is weakness a reinforcement? Is the dimming away of sense by its failure a means of seeing things eternal? No. No more can dying be an introduction to a new experience; it has no elements of regeneration in it. "The body shall return to the earth"; it was a body, it is now a little contribution to the chemistry of nature,—“but the spirit shall return to God who gave it.” It was an inspiration of the body;

it is now a companion of the divine. And the reunion of our forces with their chemical constituents is not more natural than the reunion of the spirit with the eternal to which it belongs. I must insist forever that "man has a body, but *man is a spirit*," and it behooves us to begin to live the eternal life now, for nothing can happen to a man in dying that makes him other than he was. "Lay hold upon the eternal life."

Is that a mere ideal? No, it is a very practical thing. We grow old. It is almost impossible to think anything abnormal or unpleasant of young fresh life; there are the curve and line, the flush and firmness of the flesh, the light of the eye, and all the equipment for the beginnings of life. But we grow old; how shall we save ourselves? How shall we continue to be a joy, being old? How shall the failure of body be offset, and how shall the firmness of youth be compensated? There is but one way. It is by bringing the spirit to the front. That is the only way. Oh, the beautiful old people that I have known! who had kept such beauty of spirit that in a company of young people they were not the youngest, but they were the fairest; such benignity of age by transformation from within, such regeneration of fading powers by inner illumination. It is the wonderful secret of the soul that it can make the body over and make it a companion of life. They have begun to "lay hold upon eternal life" by growing the attributes that cannot be associated with dissolution. You can think of the strength failing, of the eye growing dim, the hearing growing dull, of the step

faltering, but you cannot think of their gentleness ever ceasing, or of their sweet reasonableness coming to an end, or of the benign affections that there is any element of death in them. "Lay hold upon eternal life," you who are growing old with me, that it may not be believed of us that we have ceased to be—having ceased *to be young*. "Lay hold on eternal life" by the divine attributes of life. Lay hold upon the enterprises—that may become a man or woman. In God's name do not be so anxious about your living, be more anxious about life. There is something enlivening in a great enterprise, something splendid in the achievements of energy and executive power; they appeal to us like the challenge to be strong and to bear our part in the world's work, and there is nothing ignoble in it. But you will drop out, and somebody will take your place. The one tragedy of life to-day is in the question of what to do with the average man between forty-five and sixty who is out of work. Nobody wants him. Because you are at the top and can give your orders to those below, remember that is the accident of your temperament or equipment, and it will not last. Somebody will step in where you left the place. Associate yourself therefore with the enterprises that stay. Business men know that in fifty years the whole complexion of enterprises have changed or been threatened with loss—by changes in public opinion, or in the laws, or in some other way. Great impending changes are in the business world now; they are a part of the development of this reign of the common people which needs to be transformed from an oligarchy to a com-

monwealth of mutual help. Associate yourself with the enterprises that stay, and put your power into the spiritual uplift of life. Walk down the great thoroughfares of New York and see how the names have changed on the signboards even in your own remembrance. Turn the pages of the registers of great industries, and see how the aspects are all different; but there has been all the time growing up, until it has reached the point when it constitutes a great directory, the philanthropy of life, of one man for another that he may help him; the great ameliorating conditions have been growing till now their titles fill some four hundred pages of a directory. These are the things that stay, that are going to make things better; and all the dreams of philosophic anarchy and the stupidity of most forms of socialism will pass away, and it will be realised that the individual who has laid hold of some principle of betterment has laid hold of eternal life.

And finally, so live that people cannot think of you ever as dead. The instances are many where people turn from a grave and say, "He is not there; he is risen"; and the old claim that has been coming down the ages, that came down to us from the old pagan Saxon, that nature revived in the spring festival and all the earth blossomed and every grave was a rent grave, opened that the flowers might come out, has persisted through the ages, until this Easter festival translated it into higher terms. Let it be said, too, of you, "He is risen—into a higher life"; "She has ascended"; "They are not here"; "Why seek the living with the dead?" That is the challenge for every

one of us, to live so that people who love us and know us cannot think of us as dead. Lay hold, therefore, now, here, to-day, upon the eternal life. It is to be not an inheritance, beloved, but an achievement. Fight, then, the good fight, the beautiful fight of faith. It is worth while; it not only has great rewards, but it is in itself a great fight. Even the anæmic can realise that, and the frail and the sick can know what that is,—the splendid courage of those that from their beds of pain sustain the whole family by their fine hope and splendid patience. Over and over again we go into a sick room as to a sacrament of a deathless spirit. Fight the good fight, and with all your power “lay hold”—now, to-day—“upon the eternal life.”

THE BELIEF OF AN UNBELIEVER¹

DAVID JAMES BURRELL

“The simple believeth every word, but the prudent man looketh well to his going.” Proverbs xiv, 15.

In the Book of Proverbs there are two figures which keep moving before us. One is the prudent man; who does his own thinking, submits all hearsay to the acid test of reason and looks before he leaps. The other is the simple man; who is “taken up in the lips of talkers,” thoughtless, superficial and usually wise in his own conceit. The prudent man has convictions, the simple man has only impressions; the

¹ A sermon preached Sunday, October 23, 1910, at the Marble Collegiate Church, New York City.

former builds his house on a rock while the latter builds a castle in the air.

It is the fashion to call one of these a believer and the other an unbeliever; but this is a wrong distinction. They are both believers; but they believe opposite things and on very different grounds. In fact, there are no unbelievers in this world of ours. I say I believe the story of ancient Troy; you say you do not believe it; but what you really mean is that you believe the story of ancient Troy to be a fabrication. In other words, we are alike believers but we believe in opposite things. And it is frequently the fact that so called unbelief is associated with an almost incredible credulity. This is particularly so with respect to the problems of the spiritual life.

The proposition which I now desire to emphasise is this: *It requires more faith to reject the essential doctrines of the Christian religion than to accept them.*

In order to establish this proposition it will be necessary to cover the entire province of Christian truth: and, obviously, this must be done in the briefest possible way.

First, let us take the doctrine of God. As Christians we hold that all things were created and are upheld by a personal God. You say, perhaps, that you do not believe it; in other words, you believe that there is no such God. Let us see where that lands you.

It means that you believe in *effects without causes*. And in doing so you set yourself squarely against all experience and observation. An effect without a

cause was never seen. Not a grain of sand can be shown to be self-existent. It is an axiom of science that "life is produced by life and by nothing but life." If a single germ or an animalcule could be placed in evidence, you might have some valid ground for your opinion; but as matters stand you are believing without any evidence at all. The tadpole is your triumphant antagonist. You reject the truism, "Out of nothing, nothing comes"; and we cannot follow you.

Further, you believe in *design without a designer*. And again the like was never seen. All things appear to be adjusted to their uses; the eye for seeing, the ear for hearing, the throat of the nightingale for melody, the eagle's wing for piercing the air. You say the world is "a fortuitous concourse of atoms," and this universal order and adjustment is a mere happening. On my way to church I passed a twelve-story building in process of erection; and I perceived that every stone and iron beam, every bolt and rivet were prepared and fitted to their places. Would you presume to say that such a building is a fortuitous concourse of materials? A single rivet is enough to put your sophism to an open shame.

And, again, you believe in *law without a law-giver*. Where will you discover any analogy for that? If I were to place a copy of the Ordinances of New York before a half-witted boy, saying, "These are the laws by which our municipality is kept in order, and they made themselves," he would smile incredulously. Yet you profess to believe that the laws of the uni-

verse—laws that keep the rolling worlds in their orbits so that they move on for immeasurable aeons without jar or jostle—laws that control the forces of nature so that summer and winter, seed-time and harvest never fail—laws that are traceable through all the multitudinous avenues of matter and life—you say you believe these laws to have been formulated without a law-giver, in some unthinkable haphazard way. O infidel, great is thy faith! We cannot follow you. Our credulity is not equal to the stupendous demand which you make upon it.

The second of the cardinal truths of our religion is Immortality. We believe that when God created man He breathed His breath into his nostrils and made him a living soul, that is, immortal; so that he can no more die than God Himself can cease to be. You say, perhaps, that you do not believe in Immortality: what you mean is that you believe death ends all. Let us see where that brings you.

In order to hold that position you must reject the testimony of *your own intuition*; for there is in every man an innate and unquenchable desire for immortality. “To be or not to be?” is not an open question. We may speculate as we will, there is a spirit in us which starts up and cries, “I shall live and not die!” I do not say that this intuition is proof positive of Immortality; but I do say that it lays the *onus probandi* on the man who denies it. I am living; and the presumption is in favour of my living on. At death I shall move out of the house I now occupy; but does it follow that, when you see the sign

“To Let” upon a vacant tenement, the former tenant has ceased to be? If you so affirm, I insist that it devolves upon you to prove it.

Not only so you must reject *the universal consensus*, that is, the testimony of all nations and generations of the children of men. For it is a certified fact that from the foundation of the world there has been a general acceptance of the life hereafter. If not, why did the Greeks place an obolus under the tongue of the departed, to pay their ferriage across the Styx? Or why did the Egyptians mummy their dead? Or why do the Arabs tie a fleet camel beside the grave of the Sheik? Or why do the Indians bury the bow and arrows with the Chief who has gone to the happy hunting grounds? You call this a delusion. I say it is the infidel against the world! And he is without a particle of proof to stand on.

Furthermore, in rejecting the doctrine of Immortality you throw over *the best results of science*. If there is a single fact which has been established beyond all peradventure in the researches of modern Science it is that which is familiarly known as the Conservation of Energy. It is well to remember this in view of what a distinguished scientist and inventor has been saying against the truth of Immortality. What is the rationale of the Edison electric light? If a current of electricity pass along a wire to a point where the wire is so contracted that it will not transmit the whole current, a portion moves on and the remainder is—reduced to *nil*? Not at all. Force cannot be annihilated. The force called electricity is simply changed into its equiva-

lent of another force called light. And yet the inventor of the Edison electric light, who insists so strenuously upon the Conservation of Energy in every other quarter does not hesitate to stultify himself by denying its application in the province of spiritual things. He professes to believe that, while his own biceps muscle is indestructible, his soul—the mightiest bundle of energies within the entire purview of reason—can be so utterly quenched that it shall forever cease to be! O Mr. Edison, to what lengths of credulity does your materialism lead you!

The third of the great doctrines of our religion is the trustworthiness of the Word of God. We take the Bible to be our infallible rule of faith and practice; and we hold that it was written by holy men as they were moved by the Spirit of God. Do you say you do not believe it? You mean, then, that you do positively believe that the Bible is simply a book among other books, not wholly true, but a mingled tissue of truth and falsehood, and certainly not to be received as the veritable Word of God. To my mind your position involves a greater exercise of faith than ours; and here are some of my reasons for thinking so.

At the outset you must regard the Bible as *the result of a singular and most incredible coincidence.* Here is a volume made up of sixty-six books, on a large variety of themes under the general head of religion; the work of more than forty writers of various nationalities, speaking divers tongues and writing at intervals along a period of sixteen hundred years; and the volume thus composed is such a homogeneous

unit that it has furnished the world with a universally accepted system of ethics and a system of doctrine which, whether rejected or accepted, is conceded to be consistent and harmonious from beginning to end. You say this is a mere coincidence. I say it is more difficult to accept your view than it is to believe in inspiration. If forty persons of different tongues, temperaments and degrees of musical culture were to pass through the organ loft of a church, at long intervals, and strike sixty-six notes on the keyboard, which when combined should yield the theme of the grandest oratorio that ever was heard, would not the man who regarded that as a mere fortuitous happening be regarded, by universal consent, as a foolish man? Would not the irresistible conclusion be that there was one tone-master behind it?

Nor is this all. In pronouncing the Scriptures to be an ordinary book, of human origin, you must assume an incredible infatuation on the part of hundreds of millions of people who reverently regard it as the Word of God. It is conceded that the mere popularity of the Bible does not establish its truth; but let it be remembered that this general acceptance is co-extensive with the history of civilised man. Let it be remembered that the grip of the Bible has been strengthened from century to century on an ever increasing multitude. Let it be remembered that those who accept it are foremost among the enlightened nations of the earth. And let it be remembered that in this company are many thousands of the wisest minds. Are men like John Locke and Sir

Isaac Newton and Lord Bacon incapable of sound reasoning? Are the thousands on thousands of learned scholars and thinkers, scientists and philosophers, who accept the Scriptures as their infallible rule of faith and practice, all victims of a strange delusion? Are there so many stupid and credulous dupes among the wise people in this world of ours?

And how do you account for *the singular influence of this Book in history*? Take a map of the world and draw a line separating the nations that receive the Scriptures from those that reject them and you have divided between civilisation and barbarism, between poverty and prosperity, between selfishness and philanthropy, between freedom and oppression, between darkness and light. Progress is a fact; and, for some reason, the Bible has gone hand in hand with progress through all the ages. It has come down through history waving a torch, like Milton's angel of the morning, so that institutions of charity and enlightenment have sprung up every where along its way. We believe that such facts as these are to be accounted for by a divine power in the Scriptures as the Word of God; and we are able to give a reason for that conviction. You see the facts in these premises and are obliged to confess them indisputable; but you affirm that there is no corresponding power in the most obvious factor in this problem of civilisation; and you are unable to give a reason for the faith which is in you.

The fourth of the great doctrines is the Incarnation. We believe that in the fulness of time God sent forth His only-begotten Son on a divine crusade for

the deliverance of sinful men, and that he was both a real man and "very God of very God." Do you say that you do not believe it? That is, you believe that he was not what he professed to be. Let us see in what difficulties this involves you.

We admit the mystery; as it is written, "Great is the mystery of Godliness; God manifest in flesh; the angels desired to look into it." But there are mysteries all about us. The man who refuses to believe what he cannot understand shuts himself out of a world of indisputable truth. There is mystery enough in a single drop of blood beneath my fingernail to baffle the wisest scientist or philosopher that ever lived. If you will explain to me your own three-fold nature, or the influence of mind over matter; if you will tell me how it is that I lift my hand by the mere exercise of my will, I will undertake to make the mystery of the Incarnation as clear as day. The fact is that when we face Christ we are in the presence of a problem which, however profound and mysterious, must be solved somehow by every thoughtful man. "What think ye of this Jesus which is called the Christ?" In my opinion it is easier to believe in his theanthropic Person than to hold any other view concerning him. Here is the trilemma; he must have been either God or man or both God and man. Which will you have it?

Was he God only? So said the Docetists; who held that his humanity was merely spectral, that he was God walking about with a physical appearance of a man. But that opinion is not worth considering. It died the death long centuries ago.

Well, then, was he a mere man? If so, he must obviously have been either a good man or a bad man.

Do you believe that *he was simply a good man*? How can you hold to that opinion when he so constantly and persistently claimed to be more? He spoke of himself as incarnate God. He arrogated to himself every one of the divine attributes. He made himself equal with the Father, saying, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father"; and "I and my Father are one." When Peter confessed, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God," and when Thomas worshipped him, crying, "My Lord and my God!" he did not reprove them. He was tried on the formal charge of "making himself equal with God" and refused to deny or retract it; and he was finally crucified for making himself equal with God. And you presume to call him a good man? This is quite beyond the bounds of reason. He was either what he claimed to be or he was an arrogant and shameless impostor who was justly sentenced to die on the accursed tree.

Are you, then, prepared to say that *he was a bad man*? If so, you are a lonely thinker; for the world disagrees with you. In this position you take issue even with Judas Iscariot, who confessed, "I have betrayed innocent blood!" You take issue with Pontius Pilate, who protested, "I find no fault in him at all." You take issue with the Roman soldier in charge of the crucifixion, who confessed, "Verily, this was a righteous man!" You take issue with Theodore Parker, the Unitarian, who said, "His was the mightiest heart that ever beat, stirred by the Spirit

of God''; and with Ernst Renan, the infidel, who wrote, "Whatever may be the surprises of the future, Jesus will never be surpassed. All ages will proclaim that, among the children of men, there is none born greater than he."

The character of Jesus is above reproach. His life is recorded in the brief monograph, "He went about doing good." It was Jesus who preached the Sermon on the Mount. It was Jesus who left to the world its supreme ideal of self-denying love in dying for his fellowmen. He an impostor? He a charlatan? He a bad man? Oh, no; it is impossible to entertain the thought. You cannot believe it.

You have involved yourself in a logical difficulty from which there is no possible escape; yet you must believe something about it. There he stands, the problem of the ages. I, for my part, see no reasonable solution of the problem, except to admit that he was what he claimed to be.

The fifth doctrine of the Christian system is the Atonement. We believe that Christ bore our sins in his own body on the bitter tree. You do not; that is, you believe that Christ did not suffer vicariously for us. And the ground on which you make this affirmation is that "the innocent cannot suffer for the guilty." Let us see, now, where that brings you.

It arrays you against *the universal hope*. The first promise that was ever made to sinful man was that, in the fulness of time, the "Seed of woman" should shed his own blood in wounding the head of the serpent for our deliverance from sin. And through

all the centuries before Christ that promise was cherished as "the Hope of Israel." The coming of Messiah was looked forward to as the only escape from the shame and bondage and penalty of sin. Isaiah spoke of him as being "wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities, that by his stripes we might be healed." Nor was this hope confined to Israel. The sacred books of paganism record it. You may find it dimly in the hammer of Thor, in the wounded foot of Brahma treading on the serpent's head, in the Greek fable of Prometheus, bound to the Caucasus, with a vulture gnawing at his vitals, lamenting, "I must endure this until one of the gods shall come and bear it for me!"

Your view involves, also, a rejection of *the universal institution of sacrifice*. The hilltops of the world are crowned with altars; altars everywhere, and blood flowing over them all. What does that mean? It means nothing, absolutely nothing, unless it points to vicarious pain. The innocent must suffer for the guilty, if the guilty are to be delivered from sin.

And, further still, you antagonise *the experience of the race*. For the innocent are suffering for the guilty all around us. Do not parents agonise for their wayward children? Is there no such thing as heredity? The physical ills which we endure are largely the bequest of those who have gone before us. Why, then, should it be thought unnatural or unreasonable that God should suffer in our behalf? Is he not our Father? Is not sympathy the noblest, as well as the commonest thing in our experience? It is at this point that humanity reaches its highest

level. Blessed is the man who voluntarily bears the burdens of others! Should we not, then, expect something of this sort in God? He made us in His likeness. It would be monstrous if He, as a Father, did not sympathise with His children who have fallen into trouble. The cross, which is the historic symbol of vicarious pain, is the sublimest expression of sympathy in the universe. The atonement is precisely what ought to be expected in the nature of things. It is just like God.

The sixth and last of the great doctrines of our religion is Justification by Faith. We believe that God, who so loved us as to give His only-begotten Son to suffering and death in our behalf, has made the benefits of that sacrifice conditional upon our acceptance of it. This is faith. "Only believe!" You, on the other hand, deny the saving power of faith; holding that if salvation is free, it must be unconditioned; or in other words, that if Christ died for all, then all are to be saved whether they believe or not.

In taking that position *you turn your back on all analogy.* You are pursuing a line of reasoning which holds in no other province. Is not the air free? Nevertheless, we must breathe it. Is not water free? Yet a man may stand by a river's brink and perish of thirst, if he will not drink. Was not the manna "plenteous as hoar frost"? But the starving were required to eat. In like manner the benefits of the Atonement are free for all; but every man must accept for himself. Faith is simply the hand stretched forth to receive the gift of God.

And if you venture to affirm that God was unreasonable in affixing this condition to His free gift of pardon, then you appear to have *parted company with common sense*. For it should be manifest that God, in bestowing a free gift, had a clear right to affix to it any condition which pleased Him. The condition which was actually affixed to it was the simplest and easiest that could be thought of. "Only believe!" That is, accept it. In point of fact, who can without presumption object to it? The transaction is in the nature of a covenant, made between three parties, namely, God the Father, His only-begotten Son, and the sinner. If God be willing to deny Himself in making the sacrifice of the cross; if Christ be willing to endure the suffering necessary to expiate my sins; and if I, the "party of the third part," be willing to accept this proffer of grace and consent to be saved that way, it is submitted that in all the world there is no critic competent to enter an objection to it.

And, worst of all, in assuming this position *you close the only door of hope that ever was offered to sinful men*. "There is none other name given under heaven among men whereby we must be saved." In all the false religions and philosophies of the world there is no intimation of any way by which a sinner can escape from his mislived past. A way is provided in the expiatory work of Christ. If you close that door you say, in fact, not only that man is in a hopeless case, but that God who created him is a monster in leaving him there. The people who deny the Christian religion are, as a rule, exceedingly fond

of vociferating "God is love"; but the God whom they offer us sits in His high heaven with eyes as pitiless as those of the Sphinx, unmoved by generations of His children who in caravans pass on to dusty death. This, O unbeliever, is where your way of thinking brings you!

I have endeavoured to cover, thus briefly and summarily, the entire circumference of the Christian faith. Its six fundamental doctrines are God, Immortality, the Trustworthiness of the Bible as the written Word, the divine nature of Christ as the incarnate Word, the Atonement, and Justification by Faith. I repeat that, to my mind, it requires a less measure of Faith to accept these doctrines, separately or *in toto*, than to reject them.

The simple man and the prudent man are both believers; but the prudent man "looketh well to his going" and believes only that which commends itself to his sound reason and common sense. He is not asked to accept that which is incredible or to stand for anything which cannot endure the most exacting test of brain and conscience and heart.

God assumes a reasonable attitude toward us, saying, "Come now, saith the Lord, and *let us reason together*: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow." All that He asks is that we, on our part, shall assume a reasonable attitude toward Him; "Wherefore, I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present yourselves a living sacrifice, wholly and acceptable unto God, *which is your reasonable service.*"

If the argument which has thus been presented is sound and convincing, then this conclusion is inevitable: it behooves us, without delay, to bow in glad assent to this glorious gospel of the blessed God.

SELECTED SPEECHES

ON SLAVERY IN AMERICA ¹

JOHN BRIGHT

If we look back a little over two years—two years and a half—when the question of secession was first raised in a practical shape, I think we shall be able to remember that, when the news first arrived in England, there was but one opinion with regard to it—that every man condemned the folly and the wickedness of the South, and protested against their plea that they had any grievance which justified them in revolt—and every man hoped that some mode might be discovered by which the terrible calamity of war might be avoided.

For a time, many thought there would be no war. Whilst the reins were slipping from the hands—the too-feeble hands—of Mr. Buchanan into the grasp of President Lincoln, there was a moment when men thought that we were about to see the wonderful example of a great question, which in all other countries would have involved a war, settled perhaps

¹ Speech delivered on June 6, 1863, at a public meeting held at the London Tavern, called at the instance of the Union and Emancipation Society. Mr. Bright was chairman of the meeting.

by moderation—some moderation on one side, and some concession on the other; and so long as men believed that there would be no war, so long everybody condemned the South. We were afraid of a war in America, because we knew that one of the great industries of our country depended upon the continuous reception of its raw material from the southern States. But it was a folly—it was a gross absurdity—for any man to believe, with the history of the world before him, that the people of the northern States, 20,000,000, with their free government, would for one moment sit down satisfied with the dismemberment of their country, and make no answer to the war which had been commenced by the South.

I speak not in justification of war. I am only treating this question upon principles which are almost universally acknowledged throughout the world, and by an overwhelming majority even of those men who accept the Christian religion; and it is only upon those principles, so almost universally acknowledged, and acknowledged as much in this country as anywhere else—it is only just that we should judge the United States upon those principles upon which we in this country would be likely to act.

But the North did not yield to the dismemberment of their country, and they did not allow a conspiracy of southern politicians and slaveholders to seize their forts and arsenals without preparing for resistance. Then, when the people of England found that the North were about to resist, and that war was inevitable, they turned their eyes from the South, which was the beginner of the war, and looked to the North,

saying that, if the North would not resist, there could be no war, and then we should get our cotton, and trade would go on as before; and, therefore, from that hour to this, not a few persons in this country, who at first condemned the South, have been incessant in their condemnation of the North.

Now, I believe this is a fair statement of the feeling which prevailed when the first news of secession arrived, and of the change of opinion which took place in a few weeks, when it was found that, by the resolution of the North to maintain the integrity of their country, war, and civil war was unavoidable. The trade interests of the country affected our opinion; and I fear did then prevent, and has since prevented, our doing justice to the people of the North.

Now I am going to transport you, in mind, to Lancashire, and the interests of Lancashire, which, after all, are the interests of the whole United Kingdom, and clearly of not a few in this metropolis. What was the condition of our greatest manufacturing industry before the war, and before secession had been practically attempted? It was this: that almost ninety per cent. of all our cotton came from the southern States of the American Union, and was, at least nine-tenths of it, the produce of the uncompensated labour of the negro.

Everybody knew that we were carrying on a prodigious industry upon a most insecure foundation; and it was the commonest thing in the world for men who were discussing the present and the future of the cotton trade, whether in Parliament or out of it,

to point to the existence of slavery in the United States of America as the one dangerous thing in connection with that great trade; and it was one of the reasons which stimulated me on several occasions to urge upon the government of this country to improve the government of India, and to give us a chance of receiving a considerable portion of our supply from India, so that we might not be left in absolute want when the calamity occurred, which all thoughtful men knew must some day come, in the United States.

Now, I maintain that with a supply of cotton mainly derived from the southern States, and raised by slave labour, two things are indisputable; first, that the supply must always be insufficient; and second, that it must always be insecure. Perhaps many of you are not aware that in the United States—I am speaking of the slave States, and the cotton-growing States—the quantity of land which is cultivated for cotton is a mere garden, a mere plot, in comparison with the whole of the cotton region. I speak from the authority of a report lately presented to the Boston Chamber of Commerce, containing much important information on this question; and I believe that the whole acreage, or the whole breadth of the land on which cotton is grown in America, does not exceed ten thousand square miles—that is, a space one hundred miles long and one hundred miles broad, or the size of two of our largest counties in England; but the land of the ten chief cotton-producing States is sixty times as much as that, being, I believe, about twelve times the size of England and Wales.

It cannot be, therefore, because there has not been land enough that we have not in former years had cotton enough; it cannot be that there has not been a demand for the produce of the land, for the demand has constantly outstripped the supply; it has not been because the price has not been sufficient, for, as is well known, the price has been much higher of late years, and the profit to the planter much greater; and yet, notwithstanding the land and the demand, and the price and the profit, the supply of cotton has not been sufficient for the wants of the spinners and the manufacturers of the world, and for the wants of civilisation.

The particular facts with regard to this I need not, perhaps, enter into; but I find, if I compare the prices of cotton in Liverpool from 1856 to 1860 with the prices from 1841 to 1845, that every pound of cotton brought from America and sold in Liverpool fetched in the last five years more than twenty per cent. in excess of what it did in the former five years, notwithstanding that we were every year in greater difficulties through finding our supply of cotton insufficient.

But what was the reason that we did not get enough? It was because there was not labour enough in the southern States. You see every day in the newspapers that there are four millions of slaves, but of those four millions of slaves some are growing tobacco, some rice, and some sugar; a very large number are employed in domestic servitude, and a large number in factories, mechanical operations, and business in towns; and there remain only about one mil-

lion negroes, or only one quarter of the whole number, who are regularly engaged in the cultivation of cotton.

Now, you will see that the production of cotton and its continued increase must depend upon the constantly increasing productiveness of the labour of those one million negroes, and on the natural increase of population among them. Well, the increase of the population of the slaves in the United States is rather less than two and a half per cent. per annum, and the increase on the million will be about twenty-five thousand a year; and the increased production of cotton from that increased amount of labour consisting of twenty-five thousand more negroes every year will probably never exceed—I believe it has not reached—one hundred and fifty thousand bales per annum. The exact facts with regard to this are these: that in the ten years from 1841 to 1850 the average crop was 2,173,000 bales, and in the ten years from 1851 to 1860 it was 3,252,000, being an increase of 1,079,000 bales in the ten years, or only about 100,000 bales of increase per annum.

I have shown that the increase of production must depend upon the increase of labour, because every other element is in abundance—soil, climate, and so forth. (A voice: “How about sugar?”) A gentleman asks about sugar. If in any particular year there was an extravagant profit upon cotton, there might be, and there probably would be, some abstraction of labour from the cultivation of tobacco, and rice, and sugar, in order to apply it to cotton, and a larger temporary increase of growth might take

place; but I have given you the facts with regard to the last twenty years, and I think you will see that my statement is correct.

Now, can this be remedied under slavery? I will show you how it cannot. And first of all, everybody who is acquainted with American affairs knows that there is not very much migration of the population of the northern States into the southern States to engage in the ordinary occupations of agricultural labour. Labour is not honourable and is not honoured in the South, and therefore free labourers from the North are not likely to go south. Again, of all the emigration from this country—amounting as it did, in the fifteen years from 1846 to 1860, to two millions five hundred thousand persons, being equal to the whole population of this great city—a mere trifle went south and settled there to pursue the occupation of agriculture; they remained in the North, where labour is honourable and honoured.

Whence, then, could the planters of the South receive their increase in labour? Only from the slave-ship and the coast of Africa. But, fortunately for the world, the United States government has never yet become so prostrate under the heel of the slave-owner as to consent to the reopening of the slave-trade. Therefore the Southern planter was in this unfortunate position: he could not tempt, perhaps he did not want, free labourers from the North; he could not tempt, perhaps he did not want, free labourers from Europe; and if he did want, he was not permitted to fetch slave labour from Africa. Well, that being so, we arrive at this conclusion—that whilst

the cultivation of cotton was performed by slave labour, you were shut up for your hope of increased growth to the small increase that was possible with the increase of two and a half per cent. per annum in the population of the slaves, about one million in number, that have been regularly employed in the cultivation of cotton.

Then, if the growth was thus insufficient,—and I as one connected with the trade can speak very clearly upon that point—I ask you whether the production and the supply were not necessarily insecure by reason of the institution of slavery? It was perilous within the Union. In this country we made one mistake in our forecast of this question: we did not believe that the South would commit suicide; we thought it possible that the slaves might revolt. They might revolt, but their subjugation was inevitable, because the whole power of the Union was pledged to the maintenance of order in every part of its dominions.

But if there be men who think that the cotton trade would be safer if the South were an independent State, with slavery established there in permanence, they greatly mistake; because, whatever was the danger of revolt in the southern States whilst the Union was complete, the possibility of revolt and the possibility of success would surely be greatly increased if the North were separated from the South, and the negro had only his Southern master, and not the Northern power, to contend against.

But I believe there is little danger of revolt, and no possibility of success. When the revolt took place in the island of St. Domingo, the blacks were far su-

perior in numbers to the whites. In the southern States it is not so. Ignorant, degraded, without organisation, without arms, and scarcely with any faint hope of freedom for ever, except the enthusiastie hope which they have when they believe that God will some day stretch out his arm for their deliverance—I say under these circumstances, to my mind, there was no reasonable expectation of revolt, and that they had no expectation whatever of success in any attempt to gain their liberty by force of arms.

But now we are in a different position. Slavery itself has chosen its own issue, and has chosen its own field. Slavery—and when I say slavery, I mean the slave power—has not trusted to the future; but it has rushed into the battle-field to settle this great question; and having chosen war, it is from day to day sinking to inevitable ruin under it. Now, if we are agreed—and I am keeping you still to Lancashire and to its interests for a moment longer—that this vast industry with all its interests of capital and labour has been standing on a menacing volcano, is it not possible that hereafter it may be placed upon a rock which nothing can disturb?

Imagine—what of course some people will say I have no right to imagine—imagine the war over, the Union restored and slavery abolished—does any man suppose that there would afterwards be in the South one single negro fewer than there are at present? On the contrary, I believe there would be more. I believe there is many a negro in the northern States, and even in Canada, who, if the lash, and the chain, and the branding-iron, and the despotism against

which even he dared not complain, were abolished forever, would turn his face to the sunny lands of the South, and would find himself happier and more useful there than he can be in a more northern clime.

More than this, there would be a migration from the North to the South. You do not suppose that those beautiful States, those regions than which earth offers nothing to man more fertile and more lovely, are shunned by the enterprising population of the North because they like the rigours of a northern winter and the greater changeableness of the northern seasons? Once abolish slavery in the South, and the whole of the country will be open to the enterprise and to the industry of all. And more than that, when you find that, only the other day, not fewer than four thousand emigrants, most of them from the United Kingdom, landed in one day in the city of New York, do you suppose that all those men would go north and west at once? Would not some of them turn their faces southwards, and seek the clime of the sun, which is so grateful to all men; where they would find a soil more fertile, rivers more abundant, and everything that Nature offers more profusely given, but from which they are now shut out by the accursed power which slavery exerts? With freedom you would have a gradual filling up of the wildernesses of the southern States; you would have there, not population only, but capital, and industry, and roads, and schools, and everything which tends to produce growth, and wealth, and prosperity.

I maintain—and I believe my opinion will be sup-

ported by all those men who are most conversant with American affairs—that, with slavery abolished, with freedom firmly established in the South, you would find in ten years to come a rapid increase in the growth of cotton; and not only would its growth be rapid, but its permanent increase would be secured.

I said that I was interested in this great question of cotton. I come from the midst of the great cotton industry of Lancashire; much the largest portion of anything I have in the world depends upon it; not a little of it is now utterly valueless, during the continuance of this war. My neighbours, by thousands and scores of thousands, are suffering more or less, as I am suffering; and many of them, as you know—more than a quarter of a million of them—have been driven from a subsistence gained by their honourable labour to the extremest poverty, and to a dependence upon the charity of their fellow countrymen. My interest is the interest of all the population.

My interest is against a mere enthusiasm, a mere sentiment, a mere visionary fancy of freedom as against slavery. I am speaking now as a matter of business. I am glad when matters of business go straight with matters of high sentiment and morality, and from this platform I declare my solemn conviction that there is no greater enemy to Lancashire, to its capital and to its labour, than the man who wishes the cotton agriculture of the southern States to be continued under the conditions of slave labour.

One word more upon another branch of the question, and I have done. I would turn for a moment

from commerce to politics. I believe that our true commercial interests in this country are very much in harmony with what I think ought to be our true political sympathies. There is no people in the world, I think, that more fully and entirely accepts the theory that one nation acts very much upon the character and upon the career of another, than England; for our newspapers and our statesmen, our writers and our speakers of every class, are constantly telling us of the wonderful influence which English constitutional government and English freedom have on the position and career of every nation in Europe. I am not about to deny that some such influence, and occasionally, I believe, a beneficent influence, is thus exerted; but if we exert any influence upon Europe—and we pride ourselves upon it—perhaps it will not be a humiliation to admit that we feel some influence exerted upon us by the great American republic. American freedom acts upon England, and there is nothing that is better known, at the west end of this great city—from which I have just come—than the influence that has been, and nothing more feared than the influence that may be, exerted by the United States upon this country.

We all of us know that there has been a great effect produced in England by the career of the United States. An emigration of three or four millions of persons from the United Kingdom, during the last forty years, has bound us to them by thousands of family ties, and therefore it follows that whatever there is that is good, and whatever there is that is free in America, which we have not, we know some-

thing about, and gradually may begin to wish for, and some day may insist upon having.

And when I speak of "us," I mean the people of this country. When I am asserting the fact that the people of England have a great interest in the well-being of the American republic, I mean the people of England. I do not speak of the wearers of crowns or of coronets, but of the twenty millions of people in this country who live on their labour, and who, having no votes, are not counted in our political census, but without whom there could be no British nation at all. I say that these have an interest, almost as great and direct as though they were living in Massachusetts or New York, in the tremendous struggle for freedom which is now shaking the whole North American continent.

During the last two years there has been much said, and much written, and some things done in this country, which are calculated to gain us the hate of both sections of the American Union. I believe that a course of policy might have been taken by the English press, and by the English government, and by what are called the influential classes in England, that would have bound them to our hearts and us to their hearts. I speak of the twenty millions of the free North. I believe we might have been so thoroughly united with that people, that all remembrance of the war of the Revolution and of the war of 1812 would have been obliterated, and we should have been in heart and spirit for all time forth but one nation.

I can only hope that, as time passes, and our peo-

ple become better informed, they will be more just, and that ill feeling of every kind will pass away; that in future all who love freedom here will hold converse with all who love freedom there, and that the two nations, separated as they are by the ocean, come as they are, notwithstanding, of one stock, may be in future time united in soul, and may work together for the advancement of the liberties and the happiness of mankind.

ON THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA¹

SIR WILFRID LAURIER

We have met under the shadow of a death which has caused more universal mourning than has ever been recorded in the pages of history. In these words there is no exaggeration; they are the literal truth. There is mourning in the United Kingdom, in the Colonies, and in the many islands and continents which form the great empire over which extends the sovereignty of Queen Victoria. There is mourning, deep, sincere, heartfelt, in the mansions of the great, and of the rich, and in the cottages of the poor and lowly; for to all her subjects, whether high or low, whether rich or poor, the queen, in her long reign had become an object of almost sacred veneration.

There is sincere and unaffected regret in all of the nations of Europe, for all the nations of Europe had

¹ Speech delivered in the Canadian Parliament on February 8, 1901. Abridged.

learned to appreciate, to admire, and to envy the many qualities of Queen Victoria, those many public and domestic virtues which were the pride of her subjects.

There is genuine grief in the neighbouring nation of seventy-five million inhabitants, the kinsmen of her own people, by whom at all times and under all circumstances her name was held in high reverence, and where, in the darkest days of the Civil War, when the relations of the two countries were strained almost to the point of snapping, the poet Whittier well expressed the feeling of his countrymen when he exclaimed:

“We bowed the heart, if not the knee,
To England’s Queen, God bless her.”

There is wailing and lamentation among the savage and barbarian peoples of her vast empire, in the wigwams of our own Indian tribes, in the huts of the coloured races of Africa and of India, to whom she was at all times the Great Mother, the living impersonation of majesty and benevolence. Aye, and there is mourning also, genuine and unaffected, in the farmhouses of South Africa, which have been lately and still are devastated by war, for it is a fact that above the clang of arms, above the many angers engendered by the war, the name of Queen Victoria was always held in high respect, even by those who are fighting her troops, as a symbol of justice, and perhaps her kind hand was much relied upon when the supreme hour of reconciliation should come.

Undoubtedly we may find in history instances

where death has caused perhaps more passionate outbursts of grief, but it is impossible to find instances where death has caused so universal, so sincere, so heartfelt an expression of sorrow. In the presence of these many evidences of grief which come not only from her own dominions, but from all parts of the globe; in the presence of so many tokens of admiration, where it is not possible to find a single discordant note; in the presence of the immeasurable void caused by the death of Queen Victoria, it is not too much to say that the grave has just closed upon one of the great characters of history.

What is greatness? We are accustomed to call great those exceptional beings upon whom heaven has bestowed some of its choicest gifts, which astonish and dazzle the world by the splendour of faculties, phenomenally developed, even when these faculties are much marred by defects and weaknesses which make them nugatory of the good.

But this is not, in my estimation at least, the highest conception of greatness. The equipoise of a well-balanced mind, the equilibrium of faculties well and evenly ordered, the luminous insight of a calm judgment, are gifts which are as rarely found in one human being as the possession of the more dazzling though less solid qualities. And when these high qualities are found in a ruler of men, combined with purity of soul, kindness of heart, generosity of disposition, elevation of purpose, and devotion to duty, this is what seems to me to be the highest conception of greatness, greatness which will be abundantly productive of happiness and glory to the people under

such a sovereign. If I mistake not, such was the character of Queen Victoria, and such were the results of her rule. It has been our privilege to live under her reign, and it must be admitted that her reign was of the grandest in history, rivalling in length and more than rivalling in glory the long reign of Louis XIV, and, more than the reign of Louis XIV, likely to project its lustre into future ages.

If we cast our glance back over the sixty-four years into which was encompassed the reign of Queen Victoria, we stand astonished, however familiar we may be with the facts, at the development of civilisation which has taken place during that period. We stand astonished at the advance of culture, of wealth, of legislation, of education, of literature, of the arts and sciences, of locomotion by land and by sea, and of almost every department of human activity.

The age of Queen Victoria must be held to be on a par with the most famous within the memory of man. Of course, of many facts and occurrences which have contributed to make the reign of Queen Victoria what it was, to give it the splendour which has created such an impression upon her own country, and which has shed such a luminous trail all over the world, many took place apart and away from her influence. Many events took place in relation to which the most partial panegyrists would, no doubt, have to say, that they were simply the happy circumstance of the time in which she lived. Science, for instance, might have obtained the same degree of development under another monarch.

It is also possible that literature might have flour-

ished under another monarch, but I believe that the contention can be advanced, and advanced truly, that the literature of the Victorian age to a large extent reflected the influence of the queen. To the eternal glory of the literature of the reign of Queen Victoria be it said, that it was pure and absolutely free from the grossness which disgraced it in former ages, and which still unhappily is the shame of the literature of other countries. Happy indeed is the country whose literature is of such a character that it can be the intellectual food of the family circle; that it can be placed by the mother in the hands of her daughter with abundant assurance that while the mind is improved the heart is not polluted. Such is the literature of the Victorian age. For this blessing, in my judgment, no small credit is due to the example and influence of our departed queen. It is a fact well known in history, that in England as in other countries, the influence of the sovereign was always reflected upon the literature of the reign. In former ages, when the court was impure, the literature of the nation was impure, but in the age of Queen Victoria, where the life of the court was pure, the literature of the age was pure also. If it be true that there is a real connection between the high moral standard of the court of the sovereign and the literature of the age, then I can say without hesitation that Queen Victoria has conferred, not only upon her own people, but upon mankind at large, a gift for which we can never have sufficient appreciation.

Queen Victoria was the first of all sovereigns who was absolutely impersonal—impersonal politically, I

mean. Whether the question at issue was the abolition of the Corn Laws, or the war of the Crimea, or the extension of the suffrage, or the disestablishment of the Irish Church, or Home Rule in Ireland, the queen never gave any information of what her views were upon any of these great political issues. Her subjects never knew what were her personal views, though views she had, because she was a woman of strong intellect, and we know that she followed public events with great eagerness. We can presume, indeed we know, that whenever a new policy was presented to her by her prime minister she discussed that policy with him, and sometimes approved or sometimes, perhaps, dissented.

But that is not all. The most remarkable event in the reign of Queen Victoria—an event which took place in silence and unobserved—the most remarkable event in the reign of the late queen was the marvellous progress in Colonial development, development which, based upon local autonomy, ended in Colonial expansion.

What has been the cause of that marvellous change? The cause is primarily the personality of Queen Victoria. Of course the visible and chief cause of all is the bold policy inaugurated many years ago of introducing parliamentary constitutional government, and allowing the Colonies to govern themselves.

But, sir, it is manifest that self-government could never have been truly effective in Canada had it not been that there was a wise sovereign reigning in England, who had herself given the fullest measure of constitutional government to her own people. If the

people of England had not been ruled by a wise queen; if they had not themselves possessed parliamentary government in the truest sense of the term; if the British Parliament had been, as it had been under former kings, in open contention with the sovereign, then it is quite manifest that Canada could not have enjoyed the development of constitutional government which she enjoys to-day. It is quite manifest that if the people of England had not possessed constitutional government in the fullest degree at home, they could not have given it to the Colonies; and thus the action of the queen in giving constitutional government to England has strengthened the throne, not only in England, but in the Colonies as well.

At the close of the Civil War, when the Union of the United States had been confirmed, when slavery had been abolished, when rebellion had been put down, the civilised world was shocked to hear of the foul assassination of the wise and good man who had carried his countrymen through that ordeal. Then the good heart and sound judgment of the queen were again manifested. She sent a letter to the widow of the martyred president—not as the queen of Great Britain to the widow of the president of the United States, but she sent a letter of sympathy from a widow to a widow, herself being then in the first years of her own bereavement. That action on her part made a very deep impression upon the minds of the American people; it touched not only the heart of the widowed wife, but the heart of the widowed nation; it stirred the souls of strong men; it caused

tears to course down the cheeks of veterans who had courted death during the previous four years on a thousand battlefields.

I do not say that it brought about reconciliation, but it made reconciliation possible. It was the first rift in the clouds; and to-day, in the time of England's mourning, the American people flock to their churches, pouring their blessings upon the memory of Britain's queen. I do not hope, I do not believe it possible, that the two countries which were severed in the eighteenth century, can ever be again united politically; but perhaps it is not too much to hope that the friendship thus inaugurated by the hand of the queen may continue to grow until the two nations are united again, not by legal bonds, but by ties of affection as strong, perhaps, as if sanctioned by all the majesty of the laws of the two countries; and if such an event were ever to take place, the credit of it would be due to the wise and noble woman who thus would have proved herself to be one of the greatest of statesmen simply by following the instincts of her heart.

Sir, in a life in which there is so much to be admired, perhaps the one thing most to be admired is that naturalness, that simplicity in the character of the queen which showed itself in such actions as I have just described. From the first day of her reign to the last, she conquered and kept the affections of her people, simply because under all circumstances, and on all occasions, whether important or trivial, she did the one thing that ought to be done, and did it in the way most natural and simple.

She is now no more—no more? Nay, I boldly say she lives—lives in the hearts of her subjects; lives in the pages of history. And as the ages revolve, as her pure profile stands more marked against the horizon of time, the verdict of posterity will ratify the judgment of those who were her subjects. She ennobled mankind; she exalted royalty; the world is better for her life.

Sir, the queen is no more; let us with one heart say, Long live the king!

THE EQUALITY OF NATIONS¹

WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE

Gentlemen, the prime minister speaking out,—I do not question for a moment his own sincere opinion—has made what I think one of the most unhappy and ominous allusions ever made by a minister of this country. He quoted certain words, easily rendered as “empire and liberty”—words (he said) of a Roman statesman, words descriptive of the State of Rome—and he quoted them as words which were capable of legitimate application to the position and circumstances of England. I join issue with the prime minister upon that subject, and I affirm that nothing can be more fundamentally unsound, more practically ruinous, than the establishment of Roman

¹ Extract from a speech delivered on November 27, 1879, during his Midlothian campaign, and followed by his becoming prime minister in the following spring, succeeding Lord Beaconsfield.

analogies for the guidance of British policy. What, gentlemen, was Rome? Rome was indeed an imperial State, you may tell me—I know not, I cannot read the counsels of Providence—a State having a mission to subdue the world, but a State whose very basis it was to deny the equal rights, to proscribe the independent existence of other nations. That, gentlemen, was the Roman idea. It has been partially and not ill described in three lines of a translation from Virgil by our great poet Dryden, which runs as follows:

“O Rome! ’tis thine alone with awful sway
To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
Disposing peace and war thine own majestic way.”

We are told to fall back upon this example. No doubt the word “empire” was qualified with the word “liberty.” But what did the two words “liberty” and “empire” mean in a Roman mouth? They meant simply this: “liberty for ourselves, empire over the rest of mankind.”

I do not think, gentlemen, that this ministry, or any other ministry, is going to place us in the position of Rome. What I object to is the revival of the idea. I care not how feebly, I care not even how—from a philosophic or historical point of view—how ridiculous the attempt at this revival may be. I say it indicates an intention—I say it indicates a frame of mind, and the frame of mind, unfortunately, I find, has been consistent with the policy of which I have given you some illustrations—the

policy of denying to others the rights that we claim ourselves.

No doubt, gentlemen, Rome may have had its work to do, and Rome did its work. But modern times have brought a different state of things. Modern times have established a sisterhood of nations, equal, independent, each of them built up under that legitimate defence which public law affords to every nation, living within its own borders, and seeking to perform its own affairs; but if one thing more than another has been detestable to Europe, it has been the appearance upon the stage from time to time of men who, even in the times of the Christian civilisation, have been thought to aim at universal dominion. It was this aggressive disposition on the part of Louis XIV, king of France, that led your forefathers, gentlemen, freely to spend their blood and treasure in a cause not immediately their own, and to struggle against the method of policy which, having Paris for its centre, seemed to aim at an universal monarchy.

It was the very same thing, a century and a half later, which was the charge launched, and justly launched, against Napoleon: that under his dominion France was not content even with her extended limits, but Germany, and Italy, and Spain, apparently without any limit to this pestilent and pernicious process, were to be brought under the dominion or influence of France, and national equality was to be trampled under foot, and national rights denied. For that reason, England in the

struggle almost exhausted herself, greatly impoverished her people, brought upon herself, and Scotland, too, the consequences of a debt that nearly crushed their energies, and poured forth their best blood without limit, in order to resist and put down these intolerable pretensions.

Gentlemen, it is but in a pale and weak and almost despicable miniature that such ideas are now set up, but you will observe that the poison lies—that the poison and the mischief lie—in the principle and not the scale.

It is the opposite principle which, I say, has been compromised by the action of the ministry, and which I call upon you, and upon any who choose to hear my views, to vindicate when the day of our election comes; I mean the sound and the sacred principle that Christendom is formed of a band of nations who are united to one another in the bonds of right; that they are without distinction of great and small; there is an absolute equality between them—the same sacredness defends the narrow limits of Belgium as attaches to the extended frontiers of Russia, or Germany, or France. I hold that he who by act or word brings that principle into peril or disparagement, however honest his intentions may be, places himself in the position of one inflicting—I will not say intending to inflict—I ascribe nothing of the sort—but inflicting injury upon his own country, and endangering the peace and all the most fundamental interests of Christian society,

IN FAVOR OF ANNULLING THE UNION¹

DANIEL O'CONNELL

I accept with the greatest alacrity the high honour you have done me in calling me to the chair of this majestic meeting. I feel more honoured than I ever did in my life, with one single exception, and that related to, if possible, an equally majestic meeting at Tara. But I must say that if a comparison were instituted between them, it would take a more discriminating eye than mine to discover any difference between them. There are the same incalculable numbers; there is the same firmness; there is the same determination; there is the same exhibition of love to old Ireland; there is the same resolution not to violate the peace; not to be guilty of the slightest outrage; not to give the enemy power by committing a crime, but peacefully and manfully to stand together in the open day, to protest before man and in the presence of God against the iniquity of continuing the Union.

At Tara, I protested against the Union—I repeat the protest at Mullaghmast. I declare solemnly my thorough conviction as a constitutional lawyer, that the Union is totally void in point of principle and of constitutional force. I tell you that no portion of the empire had the power to traffic on the rights and liberties of the Irish people. The Irish people nominated them to make laws, and not legislatures.

¹ Extract from a speech delivered at Mullaghmast, Ireland, September, 1843.

They were appointed to act under the Constitution, and not annihilate it. Their delegation from the people was confirmed within the limits of the Constitution, and the moment the Irish Parliament went beyond those limits and destroyed the Constitution, that moment it annihilated its own power, but could not annihilate the immortal spirit of liberty, which belongs, as a rightful inheritance, to the people of Ireland. Take it then from me that the Union is void. I admit that there is the force of a law, because it has been supported by the policeman's truncheon, by the soldier's bayonet, and by the horseman's sword; because it is supported by the courts of law and those who have power to adjudicate in them; but I say solemnly, it is not supported by constitutional right. The Union, therefore, in my thorough conviction, is totally void, and I avail myself of this opportunity to announce to several hundreds of thousands of my fellow-subjects that the Union is an unconstitutional law and that it is not fated to last long—its hour is approaching. America offered us her sympathy and support. We refused the support, but we accepted the sympathy; and while we accepted the sympathy of the Americans, we stood upon the firm ground of the right of every human being to liberty; and I, in the name of the Irish nation, declare that no support obtained from America should be purchased by the price of abandoning principle for one moment, and that principle is that every human being is entitled to freedom.

My friends, I want nothing for the Irish but their

country, and I think the Irish are competent to obtain their own country for themselves. I like to have the sympathy of every good man every where, but I want not armed support or physical strength from any country. The Republican party in France offered me assistance. I thanked them for their sympathy, but I distinctly refused to accept any support from them. I want support from neither France nor America, and if that usurper, Louis Philippe, who trampled on the liberties of his own gallant nation, thought fit to assail me in his newspaper, I returned the taunt with double vigour, and I denounced him to Europe and the world as a treacherous tyrant, who has violated the compact with his own country, and therefore is not fit to assist the liberties of any other country. I want not the support of France; I want not the support of America; I have physical support enough about me to achieve any change; but you know well that it is not my plan—I will not risk the safety of one of you. I could not afford the loss of one of you—I will protect you all, and it is better for you all to be merry and alive, to enjoy the repeal of the Union; but there is not a man of you there that would not, if we were attacked unjustly and illegally, be ready to stand in the open field by my side.

ROBERT BURNS¹

LORD ROSEBERY

It is, it must be, a source of joy and pride to see our Scotsman receive the honour and admiration and affection of humanity; to see as I have seen this morning the long processions bringing homage and tribute to the conquering dead. But these have only been signs and symptoms of world-wide reverence and devotion. That generous and immortal soul pervades the universe to-day. In the humming city and in the crowd of men, in the backwoods and in the swamp, where the sentinel paces the black frontier or the sailor smokes the evening pipe, or where, above all, the farmer and his men pursue their summer toil, whether under the Stars and Stripes or under the Union Jack, the thought and sympathy of men are directed to Robert Burns.

I have sometimes asked myself, if a roll-call of fame were read over at the beginning of every century, how many men of eminence would answer a second time to their names. But of our poet there is no doubt or question. The *adsum* of Burns rings out clear and unchallenged. There are few before him on the list, and we cannot now conceive a list without him. He towers high, and yet he lived in an age when the average was sublime. It sometimes

¹ An address delivered, July 21, 1896, in the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on the occasion of the Burns Centenary celebration. Abridged.

seems to me as if the whole eighteenth century was a constant preparation for a constant working up to the great drama of the Revolution which closed it. The scenery is all complete when the time arrives—the dark volcanic country, the hungry, desperate people, the firefly nobles, the concentrated splendour of the court; in the midst, in her place as heroine, the dazzling queen; and during lone previous years brooding nature has been producing not merely the immediate actors, but figures worthy of the scene. What a glittering procession it is! We can only mark some of the principal figures. Burke leads the way by seniority; then come Fox, and Goethe, Nelson and Mozart, Schiller, Pitt and Burns, Wellington and Napoleon, and among these Titans Burns is a conspicuous figure—a figure which appeals most of all to the imagination and affection of mankind. Napoleon looms larger to the imagination, but on the affection he has no hold. It is in the combination of the two powers that Burns is supreme.

The clue to Burns' extraordinary hold on mankind is possibly a complicated one. It has, perhaps, many developments. If so, we have no time to consider it to-night; but I personally believe the causes are, like most great causes, simple, though it might take long to point out all the ways in which they operate. The secret, as it seems to me, lies in two words—inspiration and sympathy.

There are two great forces which seem sheer inspiration and nothing else—I mean Shakespeare and Burns. This is not the place or the time to speak

of the miracle called Shakespeare, but one must say a word of the miracle called Burns.

Try and reconstruct Burns as he was—a peasant born in a cottage that no sanitary inspector in these days would tolerate for a moment; struggling with desperate effort against pauperism, almost in vain; snatching at scraps of learning in the intervals of toil, as it were, with his teeth; a heavy, silent lad, proud of his plough. All of a sudden, without preface or warning, he breaks out into exquisite song like a nightingale from the brushwood, and continues singing as sweetly, in nightingale pauses till he dies. The nightingale sings because he cannot help it; he can only sing exquisitely, because he knows no other. So it was with Burns. What is this but inspiration? One can no more measure or reason about it than measure or reason about Niagara; and remember, the poetry is only a fragment of Burns. Amazing as it may seem, all contemporary testimony is unanimous that the man was far more wonderful than his works.

If his talents were universal, his sympathy was not less so. His tenderness was no mere selfish tenderness for his own family, for he loved all mankind, except the cruel and base—nay, we may go further and say that he placed all creation, especially the suffering and depressed part of it, under his protection. The oppressor in every shape, even in the comparatively innocent embodiment of the factor and the sportsman, he regarded with direct and personal hostility. But, above all, he saw the charm of the home. He recognised it as the basis

of all society. He honoured it in its humblest form, for he knew, as few know, how sincerely the family in the cottage is welded by mutual love and esteem.

His verses, then, go straight to the heart of every home; they appeal to every father and mother; but that is only the beginning, perhaps the foundation, of his sympathy. There is something for everybody in Burns. He has a heart even for vermin; he has pity even for the arch-enemy of mankind. And his universality makes his poems a treasure-house in which all may find what they want. Every wayfarer in the journey of life may pluck strength and courage from it as he pauses. The sore, the weary, the wounded will all find something to heal and soothe. For this great master is the universal Samaritan. Where the priest and the Levite may have passed by in vain this eternal heart will still afford resource.

There is an eternal controversy which it appears no didactic oil will ever assuage as to Burns' private life and morality. Some maintain that these have nothing to do with his poems; some maintain that his life must be read in his works; and again some think that his life damns his poems, while others aver that his poems cannot be fully appreciated without his life. Another school think that his vices have been exaggerated, while his opponents scarcely think such exaggeration possible. It is impossible to avoid taking a side. I walk on the ashes, knowing fire beneath and unable to avoid them, for the topic is inevitable. I must confess myself then, one of those who think that the life of Burns doubles the

interest of his poems, and I doubt whether the failings of his life have been much exaggerated, for contemporary testimony on that point is strong—though a high and excellent authority, Mr. Wallace, has recently taken the other side with much power and point. But the life of Burns, which I love to read with his poems, does not consist in his vices. They lie outside it. It is a life of work and truth and tenderness, and though like all lives it has its light and shade, remember that we know all the worst as well as the best.

His was a soul bathed in crystal. He hurried to avow everything. There was no reticence in him. The only obscure passage in his life is the love-passage with Highland Mary, and as to that he was silent not from shame, but because it was a sealed and sacred episode. "What a flattering idea," he once wrote, "is a world to come. There shall I with speechless agony or rapture recognise my lost, my ever dear Mary, whose bosom was fraught with truth, honour, constancy and love." But he had, as the French say, the defects of his qualities. His imagination was a supreme and celestial gift, but his imagination often led him wrong and never more than with woman. The chivalry that made Don Quixote see the heroic in all the common events of life made Burns (as his brother tells us) see a goddess in every girl he approached; hence many love affairs, and some guilty ones, but even these must be judged with reference to time and circumstances. This much is certain: Had he been devoid of genius they would not have attracted attention. It is

Burns' pedestal that affords a target. And why, one may ask, is not the same treatment measured out to Burns as to others? The illegitimate children of great captains and statesmen and princes are treated as historical and ornamental incidents. They strut the scene of Shakespeare and ruffle it with the best. It is for the illegitimate children of Burns, though he and his wife cherished them as if born in wedlock, that the vials of wrath are reserved. There were two brilliant figures both descended from the Stuarts who were alive during Burns' life. We occupy ourselves endlessly and severely with the offences of Burns; we heave an elegant sigh over the hundred lapses of Charles James Fox and Charles Edward Stuart.

Again, it is quite clear that, though exceptionally sober in his earlier years, he drank too much in later life; but this, it must be remembered, was but an occasional condescendence to the vice and habit of the age. The gentry who pressed him to their houses and who were all convivial have much to answer for. His admirers, who thronged to see him, and who could only conveniently sit with him in a tavern, are also responsible for this habit so perilously attractive to men of genius, from the decorous Addison and the brilliant Bolingbroke onward. The eighteenth century records hard drinking as the common incident of intellectual eminence. To a man, who had shone supreme in the most glowing society, and who was now an exciseman in a country town, with a home which cannot have been very exhilarating, with the nervous system highly strung,

the temptation of the warm tavern and the admiring circle there may well have been almost irresistible.

Some attempt to say that his intemperance was exaggerated. I neither affirm nor deny it. If he succumbed it was to good-fellowship and cheer. Remember, I do not seek to palliate or excuse, and, indeed, none will be turned to dissipation by Burns' example—he paid too dearly for it. But I will say this: that it all seems infinitely little, infinitely remote. Why do we strain at this distance to discern this dim spot on the poet's mantle? Shakespeare and Ben Johnson took their cool tankard at the "Mermaid." We cannot afford, in the strictest view of dietary responsibility, to quarrel with them for it. When we consider Pitt and Goethe we do not concentrate our vision on Pitt's bottles of port or Goethe's bottles of Moselle. Then why, we ask, is there such a chasm between the "Mermaid" and the "Globe"; and why are the vintages of Wimbledon and Weimar so much more innocent than the simple punch-bowl of Inverary marble and its contents?

I should like to go a step further and affirm that we have something to be grateful for even in the weaknesses of men like Burns. Mankind is helped in its progress almost as much by the study of imperfection as by the contemplation of perfection. Had we nothing before us in our futile and halting lives but saints and the ideal, we might well fail altogether. We grope blindly along the catacombs of the world, we climb the dark ladder of life, we feel our way to futurity, but we can scarcely see an

inch around or before us. We stumble and falter and fall, our hands and knees are bruised and sore, and we look up for light and guidance. Could we see nothing but distant, unapproachable impeccability we might well sink prostrate in the hopelessness of emulation, and the weariness of despair. Is it not then, when all seems blank and lightless, when strength and courage flag, and when perfection seems remote as a star, is it not then that imperfection helps us? When we see that the greatest and choicest images of God have had their weaknesses like ours, their temptations, their hour of darkness, their bloody sweat, are we not encouraged by their lapses and catastrophes to find energy for one more effort, one more struggle? Where they failed, we feel it a less dishonour to fail; their errors and sorrows make, as it were, an easier ascent from infinite imperfection to infinite perfection.

Man, after all, is not ripened by virtue alone. Were it so, this world were a paradise of angels. No. Like the growth of the earth, he is the fruit of all seasons, the accident of a thousand accidents, a living mystery moving through the seen to the unseen; he is sown in dishonour; he is matured under all the varieties of heat and cold, in mists and wrath, in snow and vapours, in the melancholy of autumn, in the torpor of winter as well as in the rapture and fragrance of summer, or the balmy affluence of spring, its breath, its sunshine; at the end he is reaped, the product not of one climate but of all, not of good alone but of sorrow, perhaps mellowed and ripened, perhaps stricken and withered and sour.

How, then, shall we judge anyone? How, at any rate, shall we judge a giant, great in gifts and great in temptation; great in strength and great in weakness? Let us glory in his strength and be comforted in his weakness; and when we thank heaven for the inestimable gift of Burns, we do not need to remember wherein he was imperfect; we cannot bring ourselves to regret that he was made of the same clay as ourselves.

JUSTICE TO IRELAND¹

JAMES BRYCE

It is idle to think of legislating satisfactorily for Ireland in a House in which the Irish members constitute a small minority out of sympathy with the majority—a House chiefly composed of members who have never been in Ireland, and have no direct personal knowledge of Irish conditions and Irish sentiment—a House whose acts and votes are checked and nullified by another and an irresponsible House, in which there is not a single representative of Irish national feeling. The thing most necessary to us in this matter at this juncture is to look facts fairly and fully in the face. I have felt this strongly in reading the powerful speeches, delivered during the Easter recess, of my right honourable friend, the member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen), whom I am sorry not to see in his

¹ Extract from a speech delivered in the House of Commons on May 17, 1886.

place. He seems to me to speak like a man who does not see—who, at any rate, does not realise—the dominant facts of the situation. Those who desire a strong, repressive government for Ireland talk as if, in order to succeed in ruling and pacifying Ireland, England and Scotland need only to put their foot down; and we have had this very day in the newspapers a vigorous and trenchant expression of that view from the leader of the Tory party.

Now, I admit that England and Scotland can govern Ireland by repression. We in Great Britain are more than thirty millions of people. We have got the men; we have got the ships and the arms; if they wish, we have got the money, too; and if Great Britain chooses to put her foot down, she can crush Ireland under an iron heel. But let me ask the question: Is this what the British people wish to do or mean to do? If our government were a despotism, sir, or such an oligarchy as ruled before the Reform Act of 1832, I could understand my right honourable friend, the member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen), or Lord Salisbury making this proposition. But what are we? We are a democracy, sir—a modern democracy. A modern democracy is fitted neither by its methods of government nor by its sentiments for a policy of that sort. A democracy would not consent to, and, if it had consented, would never persist in such a policy. A democracy has a short memory; and although it might, in a moment of exasperation, pass severe laws, it would soon forget the occasion of those laws and repeal them.

A democracy loves equality, and it could not bear to think, as it would be apt to think, that in ruling by stern laws it was oppressing the masses of the people in the interest of a landlord class. A democracy has a tender conscience, and a dislike—perhaps too strong a dislike—of severe methods; it would be pained by the fear that it was doing injustice and sanctioning harshness. A democracy loves freedom, and it would refuse to put into the hands of a government such as the Marquis of Salisbury contemplates that suspension of the Irish representation, that subjection of Ireland to arbitrary rule, which would be necessary for his purpose. I am not arguing now whether in all this democracy may be right or wrong, or whether we have done foolishly or wisely in making our government a democracy. With such questions I am not concerned, for what I ask the House is to realise the present facts and their consequences. I say that we are a democracy, and that we must, therefore, govern on democratic principles.

I have noticed that throughout this debate honourable members have been appealing to the Civil War in America, and the conduct of the Northern States in that supreme crisis, as a reason and precedent for our keeping down Ireland. The argument, when once the facts have been duly mastered, points the other way. A part of the United States rebelled on behalf of one of the worst of causes in which men ever took up arms. The North, animated by a strong sentiment of nationality, and by a hatred of slavery, determined to put that re-

bellion down, and did put it down. So we, if Ireland were to secede, would determine to keep her attached to this island, and by force of arms we should succeed. But it is not in war that the chief difficulty lies—it is in governing afterwards.

What did the United States do when the Civil War came to an end? First of all, they tried the experiment of governing the Southern States by military occupation, and they found that that system broke down, because it was impossible to keep the people in subjection and the country tranquil by military force alone. Then they tried to govern it by the disfranchisement of all who took part in the war against the Union; and they handed over the government to the negroes and a number of Northern adventurers, and that system broke down. Outrages, perpetrated on the negroes or on the Northern men who had come down into the Carolinas and Tennessee, became frequent, and could not be checked by the civil authorities. The condition of things in the South during those years was a scandal to the country.

Then at last, with the strong practical sense which becomes a free people, and which especially distinguishes the people of America, they came back to their original principles. They set up the Southern States as self-governing communities on the old lines; they restored the suffrage to all citizens, declaring those who had taken part in the war to be exempt from further consequences; and then the outrages came to an end, and those disorderly Southern communities became speedily prosperous and law-

abiding. The example of the United States is the strongest possible case you could have to show that a democratic system must be true to itself, and that only so can it succeed.

As to the cases of Scotland and Wales, these are cases which are not now before us. I do not believe that there exists in Scotland any widespread desire and demand for a separate legislature. If ever such a demand is made by the Scottish people with anything resembling the volume of demand now made by Ireland, it will be time enough for us to consider it; and when it is considered it will be dealt with upon its own merits. No one who knows the Scottish people can doubt that they will obtain whatever they seek. But I venture to ask honourable members below the gangway whether they have realised the effect of the decision they will give if they vote against this Bill? We are exposed here to what I may call a triple fire. Besides the fire that comes from the benches opposite, and that we receive from some of those who sit behind us—the noble Marquis and those who act with him—we have had, if not a volley, yet some dropping shots (I hope they will be nothing more than dropping shots) from below the gangway. I ask those honourable members to consider what the result will be if they join the noble Marquis and the Tory party in throwing out the Bill? We know what the Tory policy is. It is force. It is repression, prolonged and stern repression. What did the Marquis of Salisbury tell his followers on Saturday night? “Remember,” he said to them, “that you are the

most powerful party.” Yes, sir; they are numerically the most powerful of the parties opposed to this Bill; and if this Bill should be rejected, and the reins of government should unhappily pass to them, it is their policy that will and must prevail.

Sir, the democracy of England—the new-born democracy of England—is prepared to do what is right by the Irish people; and I trust that the knowledge of its purpose and its sympathy will enable the Irish people to await in a calm and law-abiding spirit the fulfilment of their wishes—wishes whose justice we have now, at last, admitted, and for which, in this House and out of this House, on every platform in Great Britain, we shall not cease to do battle.

ON CANADIAN FEDERATION ¹

JOHN A. MACDONALD

I have had the honour of being charged on behalf of the government, to submit a scheme for the confederation of all the British North American Provinces—a scheme which has been received, I am glad to say, with general if not universal approbation in Canada. This subject is not a new one. For years it has more or less attracted the attention of every statesman and politician in these provinces, and has been looked upon by many far-seeing politicians as being eventually the means of deciding and settling very many of the vexed questions which

¹ Delivered in the Parliament of Canada in February, 1865.
Abridged.

have retarded the prosperity of the Colonies as a whole, and particularly the prosperity of Canada.

The subject, however, though looked upon with favour by the country, and though there were no distinct expressions of opposition to it from any party, did not begin to assume its present proportions until the last session. Then men of all parties and all shades of politics became alarmed at the aspect of affairs. They found that such was the opposition between the two sections of the Province, such was the danger of impending anarchy in consequence of the irreconcilable differences of opinion with respect to representation by population between Upper and Lower Canada, that unless some solution of the difficulty was arrived at we would suffer under a succession of weak governments—weak in numerical support, weak in force, and weak in power of doing good.

In the proposed constitution all matters of general interest are to be dealt with by the general legislature; while the local legislatures will deal with matters of local interest which do not affect the confederation as a whole, but are of the greatest importance to their particular sections. By such a division of labour the sittings of the general legislature would not be so protracted as even those of Canada alone. And so with the local legislatures; their attention being confined to subjects pertaining to their own sections, their sessions would be shorter and less expensive.

Then, when we consider the enormous saving that will be effected in the administration of affairs by

one general government; when we reflect that each of the five Colonies has a government of its own with a complete establishment of public departments and all the machinery required for the transaction of the business of the country; that each has a separate executive, judicial, and militia system; that each Province has a separate ministry, including a minister of militia, with a complete adjutant-general's department; that each has a finance minister, with a full customs and excise staff; that each Colony has as large and complete and administrative organisation with as many executive officers as the general government will have—we can well understand the enormous saving that will result from a union of all the Colonies, from their having but one head and one central system. We in Canada already know something of the advantages and disadvantages of a federal union.

The whole scheme of confederation as propounded by the conference, as agreed to and sanctioned by the Canadian government, and as now presented for the consideration of the people and the legislature, bears upon its face the marks of compromise. Of necessity there must have been a great deal of mutual discussion. When we think of the representatives of five Colonies, all supposed to have different interests, meeting together, charged with the duty of protecting those interests and of pressing the views of their own localities and sections, it must be admitted that had we not met in a spirit of conciliation and with an anxious desire to promote this union; if we had not been impressed with the idea

contained in the words of the resolution,—“that the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America would be promoted by a federal union under the Crown of Great Britain,”—all our efforts might have proved to be of no avail. If we had not felt that, after coming to this conclusion, we were bound to set aside our private opinions on matters of detail; if we had not felt ourselves bound to look at what was practicable—not obstinately rejecting the opinions of others nor adhering to our own; if we had not met, I say, in a spirit of conciliation, and with an anxious overruling desire to form one people under one government, we never would have succeeded.

With these views we press the question on this House and the country. I say to this House, if you do not believe that the union of the Colonies is for the advantage of the country, that the joining of these five peoples into one nation under one sovereign is for the benefit of all, then reject the scheme. Reject it if you do not believe it to be for the present advantage and future prosperity of yourselves and your children. But if, after a calm and full consideration of this scheme, it is believed, as a whole, to be for the advantage of this Province—if the House and country believe this union to be one which will ensure for us British laws, British connection, and British freedom, and increase and develop the social, political, and material prosperity of the country—then I implore this House and the country to lay aside all prejudices and accept the scheme which we offer. I ask this House to meet

the question in the same spirit in which the delegates met it. I ask each member of this House to lay aside his own opinions as to particular details and to accept the scheme as to a whole, if he thinks it beneficial as a whole.

As I stated in the preliminary discussion, we must consider this scheme in the light of a treaty. By the happy coincidence of circumstances, just when an administration had been formed in Canada for the purpose of attempting a solution of the difficulties under which we laboured, at the same time the Lower Provinces, actuated by a similar feeling, appointed a conference with a view to a union among themselves, without being cognisant of the position the government was taking in Canada. If it had not been for this fortunate coincidence of events, never, perhaps, for a long series of years would we have been able to bring this scheme to a practical conclusion. But we did succeed. We made the arrangement, agreed upon the scheme, and the deputations from the several governments represented at the Conference went back pledged to lay it before their governments, and to ask the legislatures and people of their respective Provinces to assent to it. I trust the scheme will be assented to as a whole. I am sure this House will not seek to alter it in its unimportant details; and if altered in any important provisions the result must be that the whole will be set aside and we must begin *de novo*. If any important changes are made, every one of the Colonies will feel itself absolved from the implied obligation to deal with it as a treaty, each

Province will feel itself at liberty to amend it *ad libitum* so as to suit its own views and interests; in fact the whole of our labours will have been for naught, and we will have to renew our negotiations with all the colonies for the purpose of establishing some new scheme.

I hope the House will not adopt any such course as will postpone, perhaps forever, or at all events for a long period, all chances of union. All the statesmen and public men who have written or spoken on the subject admit the advantages of a union if it were practicable; and now, when it is proved to be practicable, if we do not embrace this opportunity, the present favourable time will pass away, and we may never have it again. Because, just so surely as this scheme is defeated, will be revived the original proposition for a union of the Maritime Provinces irrespective of Canada; they will not remain as they are now, powerless, scattered, helpless communities; they will form themselves into a power which, though not so strong as if united with Canada, will doubtless be a powerful and considerable community, and it will then be too late for us to attempt to strengthen ourselves by this scheme, which, in the words of the resolution, "is for the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America." If we are not blind to our present position we must see the hazardous situation in which all the great interests of Canada stand in respect to the United States. I am no alarmist, I do not believe in the prospect of immediate war. I believe that the common sense of the two nations will pre-

vent a war; still we cannot trust to probabilities. The government and legislature would be wanting in their duty to the people if they ran any risk. We know that the United States at this moment are engaged in a war of enormous dimensions: that the occasion of a war with Great Britain has again and again risen and may at any time in the future again arise. We cannot foresee what may be the result; we cannot say but that the two nations may drift into a war as other nations have done before. It would then be too late, when war had commenced, to think of measures for strengthening ourselves or to begin negotiations for a union with the sister Provinces.

At this moment, in consequence of the ill feeling which has arisen between England and the United States—a feeling of which Canada was not the cause—in consequence of the irritation which now exists owing to the unhappy state of affairs on this continent, the reciprocity treaty, it seems probable, is about to be brought to an end; our trade is hampered by the passport system, and at any moment we may be deprived of permission to carry our goods through United States channels; the bonded goods system may be done away with, and the winter trade through the United States put an end to. Our merchants may be obliged to return to the old system of bringing in during the summer months the supplies for the whole year. Ourselves already threatened, our trade interrupted, our intercourse, political and commercial, destroyed, if we do not take warning now when we have the opportunity, and, while one avenue

is threatened to be closed, open another by taking advantage of the present arrangement and the desire of the Lower Provinces to draw closer the alliance between us, we may suffer commercial and political disadvantages it may take long for us to overcome.

It is the fashion now to enlarge on the defects of the Constitution of the United States, but I am not one of those who look upon it as a failure. I think and believe that it is one of the most skilful works which human intelligence ever created; is one of the most perfect organisations that ever governed a free people. To say that it has some defects is but to say that it is not the work of omniscience, but of human intellects. We are happily situated in having had the opportunity of watching its operation, seeing its working from its infancy till now. It was in the main formed on the model of the Constitution of Great Britain, adapted to the circumstances of a new country, and was perhaps the only practicable system that could have been adopted under the circumstances existing at the time of its formation. We can now take advantage of the experience of the last seventy-eight years during which that Constitution has existed, and I am strongly in the belief that we have in a great measure avoided in this system which we propose for the adoption of the people of Canada the defects which time and events have shown to exist in the American Constitution.

In the first place, by a resolution which meets with the universal approval of the people of this country, we have provided that for all time to come, so far as we can legislate for the future, we shall have as

the head of the executive power the sovereign of Great Britain. No one can look into futurity and say what will be the destiny of this country. Changes come over nations and peoples in the course of ages. But so far as we can legislate we provide that for all time to come the sovereign of Great Britain shall be the sovereign of British North America. By adhering to the monarchical principle we avoid one defect inherent in the Constitution of the United States. By the election of the president by a majority and for a short period, he never is the sovereign and chief of the nation. He is never looked up to by the whole people as the head and front of the nation. He is at best but the successful leader of a party. This defect is all the greater on account of the practice of re-election. During his first term of office he is employed in taking steps to secure his own re-election, and for his party a continuance of power. We avoid this by adhering to the monarchical principle—the sovereign whom you respect and love. I believe that it is of the utmost importance to have that principle recognised so that we shall have a sovereign who is placed above the region of party—to whom all parties look up; who is not elevated by the action of one party nor depressed by the action of another; who is the common head and sovereign of all.

With us the sovereign, or in this country the representative of the sovereign, can act only on the advice of his ministers, those ministers being responsible to the people through Parliament. Prior to the formation of the American Union, as we all know,

the different States which entered into it were separate Colonies. They had no connection with each other further than that of having a common sovereign, just as with us at present. Their constitutions and their laws were different. They might and did legislate against each other, and when they revolted against the mother country they acted as separate sovereignties and carried on the war by a kind of treaty of alliance against the common enemy. Ever since the Union was formed, the difficulty of what is called "State rights" has existed, and this had much to do in bringing on the present unhappy war in the United States. They commenced, in fact, at the wrong end. They declared by their Constitution that each State was a sovereign in itself, and that all the powers incident to a sovereignty belonged to each State, except those powers which by the Constitution were conferred upon the general government and Congress.

Here we have adopted a different system. We have strengthened the general government. We have given the general legislature all the great subjects of legislation. We have conferred on them, not only specifically and in detail all the powers which are incident to sovereignty, but we have expressly declared that all subjects of general interest not distinctly and exclusively conferred upon the local governments and local legislatures shall be conferred upon the general government and legislature. We have thus avoided that great source of weakness which has been the cause of the disruption of the United States. We have avoided all conflict of jurisdiction

and authority, and if this Constitution is carried out, as it will be in full detail in the imperial act to be passed if the colonies adopt the scheme, we will have in fact, as I said before, all the advantages of a legislative union under one administration, with at the same time the guaranties for local institutions and for local laws which are insisted upon by so many in the Provinces now, I hope, to be united.

I think it is well that in framing our Constitution our first act should have been to recognise the sovereignty of her majesty. I believe that while England has no desire to lose her Colonies, but wishes to retain them,—while I am satisfied that the public mind of England would deeply regret the loss of these Provinces—yet, if the people of British North America, after full deliberation, had stated that they considered it was for their interest, for the advantage of the future British North America, to sever the tie, such is the generosity of the people of England that, whatever their desire to keep these Colonies, they would not seek to compel us to remain unwilling subjects of the British Crown. If, therefore, at the conference, we had arrived at the conclusion that it was for the interest of these Provinces that a severance should take place, I am sure that her majesty and the imperial Parliament would have sanctioned that severance. We accordingly felt that there was a propriety in giving a distinct declaration of opinion on that point, and that in framing the Constitution its first sentence should declare that “The executive authority or government shall be vested in the sovereign of the United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Ireland, and be administered according to the well-understood principles of the British Constitution, by the sovereign personally, or by the representative of the sovereign duly authorised.”

That resolution met with the unanimous assent of the conference. The desire to remain connected with Great Britain and to retain our allegiance to her majesty was unanimous. Not a single suggestion was made that it could by any possibility be for the interest of the Colonies, or of any section or portion of them, that there should be a severance of our connection. Although we knew it to be possible that Canada, from her position, might be exposed to all the horrors of war by reason of causes of hostility arising between Great Britain and the United States—causes over which we had no control and which we had no hand in bringing about—yet there was a unanimous feeling of willingness to run all the hazards of war, if war must come, rather than lose the connection between the mother country and these Colonies.

We provide that “the executive authority shall be administered by the sovereign personally, or by the representative of the sovereign duly authorised.” It is too much to expect that the queen should vouchsafe to us her personal governance or presence except to pay us—as the heir-apparent to the throne, our future sovereign, has already paid us—the graceful compliment of a visit. The executive authority must therefore be administered by her majesty’s representative. We place no restriction on her majesty’s

prerogative in the selection of her representative. As it is now, so it will be if this Constitution is adopted. The sovereign has unrestricted freedom of choice. Whether in making her selection, she may send us one of her own family, a royal prince, as a viceroy to rule over us, or one of the great statesmen of England to represent her, we know not. We leave that to her majesty in all confidence. But we may be permitted to hope that when the union takes place, and we become the great country which British North America is certain to be, it will be an object worthy the ambition of the statesmen of England to be charged with presiding over our destinies.

FINAL REMARKS

RULES are valuable as guides, but they are of real benefit to students only when they are so pliable as to adapt themselves to the needs of the individual. An elastic rule, as far as oratory is concerned, is a good one, but an iron-bound rule is liable to make its constant observer pedantic and stilted. A speaker should aim to develop and use his powers in the manner that is peculiarly his by nature, and not in a way that has been artificially acquired or forced upon him. Individuality is one of the speaker's greatest assets, and he should guard against allowing over-cultivation to rob him of it. Offensive mannerisms should not be permitted to fasten themselves upon the student of oratory; they do not denote individuality, but, on the contrary, show the injurious effects of the continual repetition of errors, and they should have been unsparingly uprooted before they became habits.

Rules should be employed as means to an end, and as soon as the end has been accomplished the means should be no longer consciously used, but all the good that was ever in the rules will

have entered into the subconscious nature of the intelligent student and will forever after serve him without a conscious effort on his part.

The student of oratory should not imitate another speaker, no matter how able that speaker may be, a copy being never so good as an original because it lacks the main thing that makes an original valuable—its individuality—but a student may, with profit, study an experienced and able speaker with the view of noting his good points and adopting the principles he employs to produce his effects, but he must learn to apply those principles in his own manner and not blindly follow the copy.

Argumentation enters so much into speech-making that it is advisable for all who desire to become proficient in this important part of the work to study logic, as correct reasoning is indispensable to the public speaker, be he clergyman, lawyer, teacher or statesman.

The voice is the principal vehicle for conveying the speaker's thoughts, therefore it should be perfectly trained in order that it may thoroughly do its work, as many good speeches are spoiled in the delivery, and many good speakers break down in their work through ignorantly abusing the vocal mechanism.

The study of oratory should be taken up by every young man, not that there might be more

public speakers (although if public speaking is good, there cannot be too much of it), but that there might be better public speakers. While the task of fitting the youth for the field of oratory is a most arduous one, his reward on accomplishing his object will be great, and the surest way for him to achieve such reward is by making himself worthy of it. Let him bear in mind these truthful words of Hamilton Wright Mabie: "Every great work of art involves adequate education; chance is as finally barred out of the world of art as it is out of the world of nature," and if he will take them to his heart, they will strengthen him to strive manfully for the prize that is within the reach of all who are willing to serve the necessary apprenticeship to properly equip them for the task of winning it.

The clergyman, statesman, lawyer, teacher, business man and business woman can all improve their delivery by careful and systematic training, and by undergoing this training they will broaden their views, strengthen their mental grasp, and vastly increase their powers for moulding opinion and directing the current of events. No force equals the power of the spoken word for impressing the minds and controlling the lives of those who come under its influence, and if this power is intelligently and honestly used, it will spread the glory of God

over the world, and bring countless blessings upon man by bringing about conditions that will improve his spiritual and material being.

The world needs to-day men and women who possess convictions, who have the courage of them, and who know how to give vocal expression to them.

NOTES

AMES, FISHER—Born at Dedham, Mass., April 9, 1758, and died there, July 4, 1808. Member of the Massachusetts Ratifying Committee in 1788; member of Congress in 1789; declined the presidency of Harvard College in 1804.

BANCROFT, GEORGE—Born at Worcester, Mass., October 3, 1800; died at Washington, D. C., July 17, 1891. Collector of the Port of Boston, 1828-41; unsuccessful candidate for Governor of Massachusetts in 1844; Secretary of the Navy, 1845-46; United States Minister to Great Britain in 1846; United States Minister to Berlin in 1867.

BLAINE, JAMES G.—Born at West Brownsville, Pa., January 31, 1830; died at Washington, D. C., January 27, 1893. Member of Congress from Maine, 1863-76; Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1869 to 1875; Senator from Maine, 1876-81; Secretary of State of the United States in the Cabinets of Presidents Garfield, Arthur and Harrison, 1881 and 1889; unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency in 1884.

BRIGHT, JOHN—Born at Green Bank, near Rochdale, Lancashire, England, November 16, 1811; died at his home, "One Ash," near Rochdale, March 27, 1889. In 1843 he became member of Parliament for Durham; elected member of Parliament for

Manechester in 1847; elected in 1857 for Birmingham. When the Civil War in America broke out, he warmly espoused the cause of the North. He held office repeatedly under Liberal prime ministers.

BRYANT, WILLIAM CULLEN—Born in Cummingham, Mass., November 3, 1794, and died in New York City, June 12, 1878.

BRYCE, JAMES—Born at Belfast, Ireland, May 10, 1838; ———; educated at Glasgow and Oxford. From 1870 to 1893 he was regius professor of civil law at Oxford. Entered Parliament in 1880, and was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1886. In 1892 Mr. Bryce was a member of Gladstone's fourth cabinet. He is the present British Ambassador to the United States (1911).

BURRELL, DAVID JAMES—Born at Mt. Pleasant, Pa., August 1, 1844; ———; A.B. Yale, 1867; graduate of Union Theological Seminary, 1870; D.D. Parsons College, 1883; LL.D. Hope College, 1900; ordained Presbyterian minister, 1872; missionary at Chicago, 1872-76; Pastor Second Presbyterian Church, Dubuque, Iowa, 1876-87; Westminster Church, Minneapolis, Minn., 1887-91; Marble Collegiate Church, New York, since 1891.

CHOATE, JOSEPH H.—Born at Salem, Mass., January 24, 1832; ———; Ambassador to Great Britain, 1899-1905. On June 24, 1902, Oxford University conferred the degree of Doctor of Civil Law upon Ambassador Choate.

EMMETT, ROBERT—Born at Dublin, Ireland, 1778; and died there September 20, 1803. He became a

leader of the United Irishmen, and in 1803 led an unsuccessful rising in Dublin; escaping to the mountains he returned to Dublin to take leave of his fiancée, Sarah Curran, daughter of the orator, and was captured and hanged. The place and year of birth is disputed. In his life of Emmett, R. R. Madden states that he was born at Dublin in 1778. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* gives Cork and the year 1780 as the place and time of his birth.

EVERETT, EDWARD—Born at Dorchester, Mass., April 11, 1794; died at Boston, Mass., January 15, 1865. Professor of Greek at Harvard College in 1819; elected to Congress in 1825; Governor of Massachusetts in 1836; United States Minister to England in 1841; President of Harvard College in 1846; Secretary of State of the United States in 1852; Senator from Massachusetts in 1853.

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN—Born at Boston, Mass., January 16, 1706; died at Philadelphia, Pa., April 17, 1790. Settled in Philadelphia in 1729; Postmaster of that city in 1737; discovered the identity of lightning with electricity in 1753; proposed a "Plan of Union" at Albany, N. Y., 1754; Colonial Agent for Pennsylvania in England, 1757-62 and 1764-75; Member of the Second Continental Congress in 1775; Member of the Committee which drew up the Declaration of Independence in 1776; Ambassador to France in 1776; helped to negotiate the treaty of peace with France in 1778; helped to negotiate the treaty of peace with England in 1783; President of Pennsylvania, 1785-88;

Member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

GARFIELD, JAMES A.—Born at Orange, Ohio, 1831; died at Elberon, N. J., September 19, 1881. President of Hiram College, Ohio, 1859–61; Brigadier-General of Volunteers in the Civil War, 1862; Major-General, 1863; elected to Congress from Ohio in 1863, serving till 1880; Member of the Electoral Commission in the Tilden-Hayes controversy of 1877; elected United States Senator from Ohio in 1880; elected President of the United States in 1880; shot by an assassin on July 2, 1881, and died September 19 of the same year.

GLADSTONE, WILLIAM EWART—Born in Liverpool, England, December 29, 1809; died at Hawarden Castle, Wales, May 19, 1898; buried in Westminster Abbey. Educated at Eaton and Oxford; entered Parliament in 1833 as a Conservative, and in 1835 became Under-Secretary for the Colonies. He became a Liberal in 1847; Prime Minister in 1869–1873; 1880–1885; a few months later he was again reinstated in office, but on his Irish Home Rule Bill being defeated, he resigned. He was once more returned to power in 1893.

GOETHE—Born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, August 28, 1749, and died at Weimar, March 22, 1832.

HAMILTON, ALEXANDER—Born on the Island of Nevis, W. I., January 11, 1757; died at New York, July 12, 1804. Writer of pamphlets in the agitation preceding the Revolution; Captain of Artillery in 1776; member of Washington's Staff in 1777–81; won distinction at Yorktown in 1781; Member of the Continental Congress in 1782;

Member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787; Secretary of the Treasury in 1789; Commander-in-Chief of the Army in 1799; killed by Aaron Burr in a duel.

HOAR, GEORGE F.—Born at Concord, Mass., August 29, 1826; died at Worcester, Mass., September 30, 1904. Member of Congress from Massachusetts in 1869–77; Member of the Electoral Commission in the Tilden-Hayes dispute in 1877; United States Senator from Massachusetts from 1877 until his death.

LAMAR, L. Q. C.—Born in Jasper County, Ga., September 1, 1825; died at Macon, Ga., January 23, 1893. Member of Congress from Mississippi in 1857; served the Confederacy in the Civil War; elected to Congress in 1873; United States Senator from Mississippi, 1877–85; Secretary of the Interior in 1885; Justice of United States Supreme Court in 1888.

LAURIER, SIR WILFRID—Born at St. Lin, Quebec, Canada, November 20, 1841; ———; educated at L'Assomption College; admitted to the bar in 1865. From 1871 to 1874 he was in the Quebec Assembly, and then entered the Dominion Parliament. He became the leader of the Liberal party in 1887, and after the general election in the spring of 1896 was chosen Premier of Canada. He was knighted in 1897.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM—Born in Hardin County, Ky., February 12, 1809; died at Washington, D. C., April 15, 1865. Began to practise law in 1837; Captain of Volunteers in the Black Hawk War in

1832; elected to Congress in 1847; elected President of the United States in 1860; re-elected President in 1864; shot by an assassin on April 14, 1865; died the following morning.

LOWELL, JAMES RUSSELL—Born at Cambridge, Mass., February 22, 1819, and died at the same place, August 12, 1891. Graduated at Harvard in 1838, and two years afterward was admitted to the bar, but never practised law. Literature from the first was his calling. In 1857 he became editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and six years later, commenced a ten-years' connection with the *North American Review*. In 1877 he was appointed Minister to Spain, and in 1880 Minister to Great Britain.

MABIE, HAMILTON WRIGHT—Born at Cold Spring, N. Y., December 13, 1846; ———; A.B. Williams, 1867, later A.M.; LL.B. Columbia, 1869; L.H.D. Williams, 1890; LL.D. Union, 1899, Western Reserve, 1904, Washington and Lee, 1906. Editor of *The Outlook*; Member of American Academy of Arts and Letters.

MACAULAY, THOMAS B.—Born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, England, October 25, 1800; died at Kensington, England, December 28, 1859. Called to the Bar in 1826; Member of the Supreme Council in India in 1834–38; Secretary of War in 1839–41; Pay-Master General in 1846–47; elected to Parliament in 1852; made a Peer in 1857.

MACDONALD, JOHN A.—Born at Glasgow, Scotland, January 11, 1815; died at Ottawa, Canada, June 6, 1891. He entered political life in 1844; became Attorney-General in 1854; Premier in 1856.

When the Union was consummated in 1867, he became Premier of the Canadian Confederation, and was created a K. C. B. In 1871 he acted as one of the high commissioners in the settlement of the Alabama Claims.

MANSFIELD, LORD—Born at Seone in Perthshire, Scotland, March 2, 1705; died at London, England, March 20, 1793.

MCCABE, WILLIAM GORDON—Born at Richmond, Va., August 4, 1841; ———; his father was the Rev. John Collins McCabe, a friend of Edgar Allan Poe. His mother was Sophia Gordon Taylor, great-granddaughter of George Taylor, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Educated at the Hampton Academy, and the University of Virginia; Colonel in the Confederate Army; honorary degrees from William and Mary College, Williams College, and Yale University; an M.A. from Williams College, and from William and Mary College; Litt.D. from Yale University.

O'CONNELL, DANIEL—Born August 6, 1775, near Cahireiveen, a small town in Kerry, Ireland; died May 15, 1847, at Genoa, Italy. The political power of O'Connell commenced in 1823, when he established the Catholic Association, with dues of a penny a month. Elected to represent Clare in Parliament in 1828. On the 13th of April, 1829, the emancipation of Catholics was proclaimed by a bill emanating from the minister, accepted by the legislature, and signed by the king, but brought about by the efforts of O'Connell alone.

OTIS, JAMES—Born at Barnstable, Mass., February

5, 1725; died at Andover, Mass., May 23, 1783. Law officer under the Crown; Member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives; Delegate to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765; wrote a pamphlet entitled, "Rights of the British Colonies Asserted," in 1764, and others that attracted wide attention in England as well as in America; owing to illness, not active during the Revolution; killed by lightning.

PINKNEY, WILLIAM—Born at Annapolis, Md., March 17, 1764; died at Washington, D. C., February 25, 1822. Minister to Great Britain in 1806; Attorney-General in 1811; Member of Congress in 1815; Minister to Naples in 1816; Minister to Russia in 1816; United States Senator from Maryland in 1820.

PRENTISS, SARGENT S.—Born at Portland, Me., September 30, 1808; died at Laguerre, near Natchez, Miss., July 1, 1850. Member of Congress from Mississippi in 1838.

ROSEBURY, ARCHIBALD PHILIP PRIMROSE, EARL OF—Born May 7, 1847, at London, England; ———; educated at Eaton and Christ Church College, Oxford University. Under-Secretary of State, 1881–1883; elected rector of the University of Edinburgh in 1880; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1886; again Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1892. He became Premier in March, 1894, filling the office till the Liberals went out of office in June, 1895.

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM—Born at Stratford-on-Avon, April 23, 1564, and died there on April 23, 1616.

SLICER, THOMAS R.—Born at Washington, D. C.,

April 16, 1847; ———; educated in Baltimore; honorary A.M. Dickinson College, 1872; in Methodist ministry ten years in Maryland, Colorado and New York; entered Unitarian ministry, 1881; Pastor, Providence, R. I., 1881-90; Buffalo, 1890-97; Church of All Souls', New York City, since 1897.

STIRES, ERNEST M.—Born at Norfolk, Va., May 20, 1866; ———; B.Litt. University of Virginia, 1888; Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia, 1889-91; D.D. Trinity, 1901; LL.D. Kenyon, 1903; Deacon, 1891; Priest, 1892; Pastor West Point, Va., 1891-2; Church of Good Shepherd, Augusta, Ga., 1893; Grace Church, Chicago, 1893-1901; St. Thomas's Church, New York, since 1901.

THOREAU, HENRY D.—Born at Concord, Mass., July 12, 1817, and died there May 6, 1862.

THURSTON, JOHN M.—Born at Montpelier, Vt., August 21, 1847; ———; located at Omaha, Neb., in October, 1869, where he commenced the practice of law; City Councillor of Omaha in 1872; Member of the Nebraska Legislature in 1875; Temporary Chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1888; United States Senator from Nebraska, 1895-1901.

WASHINGTON, BOOKER TALIAFERRO—Born near Hale's Ford, Va., 1859; ———; Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

WEBSTER, DANIEL.—Born at Salisbury, N. H., January 18, 1782; died at Marshfield, Mass., October 24, 1852. Member of Congress from New Hampshire, 1813-17; Massachusetts, 1823-27; United States Senator from Massachusetts, 1827-41; de-

feated for the Presidency in 1836; afterwards an unsuccessful candidate for the Whig nomination; Secretary of State of United States, 1841; negotiated the Ashburton Treaty in 1842; again elected Senator from Massachusetts in 1845; again Secretary of State of United States in 1850; again unsuccessful for the Whig nomination for President in 1852.

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